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THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWATNA

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RESEARCH

Edited by
ANDREA TRAMERI



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN – LEIDEN

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THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWATNA:
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J.G. DERCKSEN, K. VAN DER TOORN, K.R. VEENHOF en W.J.I. WAAL

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THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWATNA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RESEARCH

Proceedings of the Third NINO Postdoctoral
Research Fellow Annual Conference,
Leiden, 23rd–25th March 2023

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Cover illustration:

Relief of Fraktin (Gümüşören, Develi, Kayseri Province, Turkey), mid–late 13th century BCE.

Photograph by Tayfun Bilgin.

Two adjacent offering scenes depict the Hittite king Ḫattušili III (left) and queen Puduḫeba (right), each standing before an altar and the Storm God(?) and the goddess Ḫēbat, respectively. A third panel beside the queen's depiction bears the inscription: "Daughter of Kizzuwatna, beloved of the god(s)".

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PREFACE

These proceedings of the third annual ‘NINO Postdoctoral Research Fellow Conference’ titled *The kingdom of Kizzuwatna: Recent Developments in Research*, contribute to a multi-year research undertake on the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. This project began with my PhD research and dissertation on the history of Kizzuwatna and Cilicia in the second millennium BCE, which I defended at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, in May 2020. With the primary goal of publishing the dissertation as a monograph, I joined the NINO in Leiden for a two-year postdoctoral research fellowship. This opportunity allowed me to continue the necessary research activity for the book’s completion, and to organize a symposium closely related to my research topic. On March 23rd–25th 2023, NINO and Leiden University hosted our conference, where eighteen scholars presented contributions on various topics relevant to the research on Kizzuwatna, some of which are published in the present volume.

The monograph based on my doctoral dissertation was recently published as *Kizzuwatna. History of Cilicia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1200 BC)* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/185, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2024) and this conference volume complements the book by offering additional individual studies on selected topics of interest, spanning various fields of expertise. While the completion of the history monograph aimed to provide a comprehensive study of Kizzuwatna, the conference brought in the voices of other colleagues engaged in this research topic, offering new ideas and perspectives. Our invitations and call for papers were met with interest and enthusiasm by many scholars, allowing us to engage in a multidisciplinary conversation on a broad range of issues and themes. The presentations showcased recent developments and original research from various fields of research, including archaeology and material cultural studies, philological studies, and historical linguistics.

Following an historical introduction to the kingdom of Kizzuwatna (I), this volume is organized into four thematic sections with the submitted contributions, who underwent a process of peer-review: Archaeology and Geography (II), Texts, Philology and Language (III), Religion, Rituals and Culture (IV), and Kingship and Ideology (V).

The personal names of Hittite kings and queens have been standardized throughout the volume. However, the choice for some spellings of Hurrian names have been left to the authors, as variation exists both in the original cuneiform spellings and in the transcription standards used in modern scholarship. Authors’ individual preferences for transliteration conventions of original texts have been also maintained, with minor corrections made for publication purposes.

Bibliographical abbreviations in the volume follow *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (most recent volume Š, concluded in 2019) unless otherwise specified in each contribution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the editor of this conference proceedings, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all the participants to the conference: (in alphabetic order) Mariateresa Albanese, Virginie Danniau, Stefano de Martino, Marco De Pietri, Mauro Giorgieri, Manfred Hutter, Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar, Ekin Kozal, Adam Kryszewski, Matthias Lange, Alvis Matessi, Alice Mouton, Mirko Novák, Zsolt Simon, Piotr Taracha, Marie-Claude Trémouille, Eva von Dassow, Livio Warbinek, Ilya Yakubovich, Deniz Yaşın.

This conference and the resulting proceedings volume would not have been possible without the generous institutional and financial support of NINO and Leiden University. For the preparation of the volume, in particular, I am indebted to Willemijn Waal, for her invaluable assistance at every stage – from the review process to the final production. I thank also Jan Gerrit Dercksen, chief editor of the PIHANS series, and Peeters Publishers for accepting this volume into their collection.

For her outstanding work in the organization of the conference, I am also especially grateful to Carolien van Zoest of NINO, and to Sara Gebhardt for her kind assistance. I also thank our colleagues at Leiden University who joined our conference as session chairs: Jan Gerrit Dercksen, Bleda Düring, Alwin Kloekhorst, Miriam Müller and Lidewij van de Peut.

Finally, several anonymous colleagues are to be thanked for their feedback and valuable critiques during the peer-review process.

Würzburg, October 2024

Andrea Trameri

During the final phases of the editorial preparation of this volume, Marco De Pietri, a young scholar at the University of Pavia and one of the contributors, tragically passed away on May 12th, 2025. We include his posthumous article in these proceedings to honour his memory, with the kind permission of his family. His untimely passing deeply saddened and disconcerted all who knew him.

Marco was an enthusiastic and dedicated researcher, focusing on both Egyptological and Anatolian studies. He was also a long-time member of the archaeological excavations at Kınık Höyük in southern Cappadocia, Türkiye, where I had the pleasure of working with him over many excavation seasons, since our time as students at the University of Pavia.

His article was completed and approved by him at the end of 2024, and no substantial changes have been made. As Marco was unable to review the final proof before publication, as editor of the volume, I made only typographical and formatting corrections where necessary.

Würzburg, June 2025



The speakers and organisers of the conference at the Oude Sterrewacht in Leiden, on March 25th 2023 (left to right): Eva von Dassow, Zsolt Simon, Piotr Taracha; Marco De Pietri, Willemijn Waal, Andrea Trameri, Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar; Virginie Danniau, Adam Kryszewski, Manfred Hutter; Marie-Claude Trémouille, Stefano de Martino; Maria Teresa Albanese, Mirko Novák, Alice Mouton; Livio Warbinek, Alvise Matessi.

KIZZUWATNA: HISTORY, SOURCES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Andrea TRAMERI

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

This introduction provides a brief outline of the history of Kizzuwatna and highlights some of the principal research questions relevant to the study of this kingdom and territory of Anatolia, in anticipation of the more detailed discussions presented in the volume's contributions on selected topics.¹ Several open questions in the interpretation of the data reveal the complexity of the issues at hand, as well as the existence of fundamental difficulties in even the basic outlines of the kingdom's history and chronology. This is equally true for the interpretation of both textual and archaeological evidence, in the attempt to reconstruct the ancient realities of culture, religion(s) and population dynamics in Kizzuwatna.

The absence of internal written sources stemming from Kizzuwatna is a core methodological issue for any discussion of this kingdom and its history. The absence of texts discovered in Cilicia remains a most frustrating question mark in Hittitological research, particularly puzzling given the contrast with the widespread diffusion of writing both to the north of the Taurus (Hittite kingdom) and to the east of the Amanus in Syria.² Since the written evidence is invariably secondary, stemming from outside Kizzuwatna (with few exceptions),³ for Kizzuwatna, even more so than in other case studies and regions, we must turn to the archaeological research as a starting point for the discussion, and as the most promising route for increasing our knowledge in the future. The many ongoing excavations provide a constantly growing body of data, and in recent years the efforts of the archaeologists working in Cilicia have also led to the determination of a local regional chronology, evidenced by the distinctive character of the local material culture (see Novák and Kozal in this volume, with fig. 2).⁴

¹ A comprehensive treatment on Kizzuwatna and the region of Cilicia in the second millennium BCE is available in the recently published volume *Kizzuwatna. History of Cilicia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1200 BC)* (Trameri 2024). The present article includes only essential bibliographic references. For detailed discussions of specific topics I refer to various sections of the volume; a brief historical outline can be found in the conclusions therein (Trameri 2024: 514–530).

² In their contribution in the present volume, Novák and Kozal contemplate the possibility that the absence of texts might be due to poor preservation caused by the nature of the soil. We can only hope this is not the case, and await for future discoveries.

³ Only a cretula with the seal impression of the local king Išpudaḥṣu, and an Old Kingdom Hittite land grant, both found at Tarsus, have been found within the territory of Kizzuwatna (see *infra*).

⁴ ECI (Early Cilician) (= EBA), OCI (Old) (= MB I–IIa), MCI (Middle) (= MB IIb–LB I–II), NCI (Neo) (= IA I–III).

Archaeological research has a privileged relation with philological studies, particularly in the field of historical geography and toponomastics, which is another difficult subject for the research on Kizzuwatna. While the geography of Kizzuwatna can only be reconstructed approximately, after Goetze's (1940) early determination that Kizzuwatna must be sought in southern Anatolia and Cilicia, a consensus has been reached in recent years that the territory of historical Kizzuwatna corresponds to the plains of Cilicia.⁵ In several Hittite sources, Kizzuwatna also had another name, Kummani; both were used as names for a land and a town, but with different distributions. In his contribution to this volume, A. Kryszewski provides the first systematic study of the use of these two toponyms in Hittite texts, showing that the nature of this identity is complex, and that, in fact, only in some instances were these place names truly interchangeable.

1. THE ORIGINS OF THE KINGDOM AND THE EARLY SOURCES

The earliest direct evidence for an independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna in southern Anatolia dates to the end of the 16th century BCE (Middle Chronology). Two documents independently confirm that a king named Išpudaḫšu was the ruler of Kizzuwatna at this time: an alliance treaty concluded with the Hittite king Telipinu (CTH 21) allows a synchronism with the Hittite Old Kingdom in the last quarter of the century. The other source is a seal impression found at Tarsus, one of the few existing documents stemming from Kizzuwatna itself.⁶ Its concise cuneiform inscription indicates that Išpudaḫšu styled himself as Great King and that he was the son of a certain Pariyawatri, who is unknown from any other source.

The seal does not indicate whether Pariyawatri was king, and the kingdom's origins remain obscure. According to most historians, the *Edict of Telipinu* (CTH 19) contains potential information for reconstructing this formative phase. It recounts that at the time of Ammuna, Telipinu's close predecessor, several territories became hostile against the Hittite kingdom, including "the land of Adaniya" (*Edict*, §21).⁷ In all probability, this toponym corresponds with modern Adana, and certainly identifies part of the region that was later part of Kizzuwatna. The fact that this document does not mention Kizzuwatna might suggest that this kingdom did not yet exist as a centralized polity of regional size at this time. On the other hand, the reference to these rebellions has been understood as the point in time during which Kizzuwatna gained its independence from Hittite rule. In fact, most Hittite histories maintain that Cilicia had been brought more or less stably under Hittite control since the early Old Kingdom (ca. 1650–1525), with the campaigns of Ḫattušili and Muršili, if not earlier, with Labarna.⁸

⁵ Especially after Trémouille 2001. For an overview on the geography of Kizzuwatna and related questions see Trameri 2024: 27–80. See also Kryszewski in this volume.

⁶ Goldman 1935: 535–536, fig. 18; Gelb 1956: 246–247 (cat. n. 1). A detailed discussion of the seal in Trameri 2024: 208–235.

⁷ CTH 19, §21: "The land(s) became hostile towards him: the cities of []-agga, [Ma³-t]ila, Galmiya, (the land of) Adaniya, the land of Arzawiya, Šallapa, Parduwata and Aḫḫulla. Wherever the troops went on campaign, they did not come back successfully."

⁸ E.g. Beal 1986: 424–426 and 445; Desideri–Jasink 1990: 51–53; Klengel 1999: 74; Bryce 2005: 104–106.

In other publications, I have argued for a revision of this reconstruction. In the Hittite documents dating to the early New Kingdom (early 16th century), such as the *Annals of Hattušili I* (CTH 4), there is no evidence of a Hittite conquest of Cilicia in the late 17th or 16th century, and very limited evidence of any contact with the region.⁹ The sources indicate that Hattušili and Muršili carried out extensive campaigns in central Anatolia and in northern Syria, and contacts with Cilicia occurred only sporadically. The view that Cilicia had been under Hittite hegemony before the independence of Kizzuwatna is based, chiefly, on the content of the retrospective account in the *Edict of Telipinu* (§2–3), which indicates that the early kings Labarna, Hattušili and Muršili had made extensive conquests incorporating most of Anatolia, since they “made them (i.e. the lands) the borders of the sea”. The passage is usually taken literally, as evidence that these kings reached the Mediterranean thanks to the conquest of Cilicia. However, there is reason to think that this statement is formulaic, and the text itself is contradictory on the extension and stability of the early Old Kingdom conquests.¹⁰ A historical picture in which the Hittites had stable control of Cilicia is also unlikely in consideration of the predatory nature of Hittite warfare at the beginning of the Old Kingdom; the Hittites in the 17th and early 16th century were unable to obtain stable control of territories located at a significant distance from the core regions of their kingdom, in north-central and south-central Anatolia.

Other sources, previously used as evidence for an early Hittite conquest of Cilicia, can be excluded from the picture as well: notably, a Hittite land grant found at Tarsus¹¹ and stamped with the seal of an anonymous king “Tabarna” (one of the traditional titles of the Hittite ruler) cannot be used as proof of direct control or the presence of local Hittite administration in Cilicia during the Old Kingdom. Based on an analysis of the seal impressed on the tablet, and considering its secondary archaeological context, I have argued that this document was likely issued at Hattuša using the same seal found on other land grants, and only later transported to Tarsus.¹² Thus, the document cannot be used as evidence of the existence of a Hittite administrative centre at Tarsus. Moreover, the study of the land grant corpus by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012) showed this document is to be dated to the reign of Telipinu, in contrast with previous suggestions for an earlier date, excluding this object from the pool of potential evidence in support of an early Hittite presence in Cilicia (i.e. earlier than Telipinu himself).

In summary, the evidence is thin in support of the view that Cilicia was more or less stably under Hittite political hegemony in some form throughout the late 17th and 16th century. Therefore, the alternative that Cilicia remained largely unaffected by the Old Kingdom’s expansion, and was an independent region, must be considered the most likely option.

As regards the crucial junction of the rebellions in Adaniya at the time of Ammuna, I also think that a different historical interpretation of the passage in the *Edict* is in order. Adaniya and the other territories that can be identified were all at a significant distance

⁹ Trameri 2024: 128–164. A similar view was already proposed in Ünal 2014a and 2017, although it has been largely ignored in scholarship (for an exception, see Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 281).

¹⁰ Trameri 2024: 164–176.

¹¹ Goldman 1937: 280–281; Goetze 1939: 1–5; Rüster–Wilhelm 2012: 139.

¹² Trameri 2023 and 2024: 176–188, with images and previous literature.

from the core of the Hittite kingdom, most likely *outside* its borders, and none of them had been part of its territory at the time or before.¹³ The text merely states that those regions “were/became hostile” without any implication that those territories had been under Hittite control.¹⁴ This interpretation agrees with the general lack of evidence for Hittite control in Cilicia during the Old Kingdom. Cilicia was very likely outside Hittite reach and thus potentially an independent region with its own local power structures.

A potential supplement to the scanty information provided by the written sources is the archaeological evidence of violent destructions across multiple sites in Cilicia and across the Amanus, within a time frame compatible with the military campaigns of the early Old Kingdom.¹⁵ The nature of these destruction events, whether military or natural, is still to be clarified. Settlement pattern data might also provide traces of the consolidation of a local kingdom in Cilicia, although an exact historical interpretation of the data naturally remains challenging. Archaeologically, it was possible to trace an increase in the number of settlements during the Middle Cilician period/Late Bronze Age, connected with a reduction in size, a change which might reveal traces of a new political layout within the newly founded kingdom of Kizzuwatna.¹⁶

2. KIZZUWATNA AND THE HITTITE KINGDOM: THE DIPLOMATIC SOURCES (LATE 16TH–MID 15TH CENTURY)

When Kizzuwatna first appeared in the Hittite records, it was already a kingdom able to conclude a parity alliance treaty with Ḫattuša (*Treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu*, CTH 21). This treaty would be followed by a few other similar documents. In the contemporary seal of Išpudaḫšu, this king even employed the title ‘Great King’, showing that the local kingdom had achieved powerful political status internationally.¹⁷ The diplomatic texts show that the kings of Kizzuwatna later renounced the title, which may suggest that some conflict occurred, and was resolved through treaty stipulation, forcing Kizzuwatna to reappraise its ambitions. On the other hand, these diplomatic arrangements also indicate a degree of weakness in the Hittite kingdom at this time. Forced to secure an external alliance by permanent internal instability, and due to increasing Hurrian pressure in Syria – where the constitution of a new, centralized kingdom was incipient or underway (Mit-tani) – the Hittite kingdom granted entirely equal terms to Kizzuwatna in the treaties.

¹³ Trameri 2024: 169–174.

¹⁴ The basic meaning of the Hittite verb *kururiyela-* is ‘to become hostile’, thus is not necessarily to be translated ‘to rebel, revolt’. For example, in the *Annals of Ḫattušili I* the verb is usually translated with its base meaning (e.g. KBo 10.2, I, 22–24).

¹⁵ For destruction levels at the end of the OCI 2 (ca. 1700 BCE) and OCI 3 (ca. 1600 BCE) periods at several sites in Cilicia, possibly corresponding with destruction levels across the Amanus, such as at Zincirli (late 17th century), see Novák and Kozal in this volume. A similar destruction level (end of the MB II, mid/late 17th c.) was also found at Tilmen Höyük (discussed in Trameri 2024: 197).

¹⁶ Novák and Kozal in this volume.

¹⁷ For the possible meaning of this claim, and its absence elsewhere in the sources on Kizzuwatna, see Trameri 2024: 235–240.

Until the time of Tudḫaliya I, the Hittites were unable to proceed with campaigns in Syria or undertake other extensive military operations outside of central Anatolia. The kingdom shrunk to its core and the documents of political content from the 15th century consist primarily of these diplomatic texts.

While revealing elements of political weakness, the conditions of these treaties suggest that the Hittites were unwilling to surrender their hegemonic role in Anatolia. While ostensibly dealing with a “peer” kingdom in Kizzuwatna, signals of imbalance are inherent in the formalities of titulary accepted by the southern rulers, and it is self-evident that throughout the 15th century this small kingdom could not compete geopolitically with the two larger powers of the macro-area, the Hittite kingdom and Mittani. Its survival depended on the ability to act within a delicate interregional geopolitical equilibrium.

After the first treaty with Išpudaḫšu, for some generations the rulers of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna renewed the first treaty with identical or very similar terms. These documents have a standardized content, with recurrent themes, preoccupations and even provisions. Four treaties after the first survive, and their relative chronology is still difficult to assess exactly. In the treaty concluded with Paddatiššu (CTH 26) the name of the Hittite ruler is not preserved, but it is possible that this was Ḫantili II, based on a later entry preserved in a catalogue tablet. If so, this would be earlier than both the treaty between Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (CTH 29) – but the chronology of this ruler is also problematic – and the one between Zidanza II and Pilliya (CTH 25).¹⁸ On the basis of the meagre content of these repetitive, largely formulaic documents, very little can be said about Kizzuwatna’s local history during its independence, or about any significant political events in the region. The provisions discuss generic matters, with the goal of highlighting aspects of parity and perfect equality in the alliance.

The local political history remains obscure, apart from the little information that can be drawn from these diplomatic documents and a few other texts.¹⁹ There is equally scant evidence to discuss aspects of culture and population, although the documents found in the Hittite archives provide, at least, some more substantial information on the religious traditions of Kizzuwatna.

3. ON LANGUAGES, CULTURE, AND RELIGION IN KIZZUWATNA

Information on the people, languages, culture and religion of Kizzuwatna derives entirely from the content of later texts found in the Hittite archives (14th–12th century). These documents deal almost exclusively with matters related to religion and ritual practice, and show that the local traditions were quite different from those of Hittite Anatolia.

¹⁸ For previous discussions of this group of treaties see especially Del Monte 1981: 210–211. A translation of all the treaties in Devecchi 2015: 63–92 (in Italian). A detailed discussion with literature in Trameri 2024: 240–279.

¹⁹ Other than the treaties, there are a fragment referring to the king of Kizzuwatna Pilliya/Palliya and his ancestor Pariyawatri (KBo 18.61) and a donation document for a temple in Kizzuwatna, recalling donations made by local kings (KUB 40.2); see Trameri 2024: 280–286.

The religious traditions of Kizzuwatna were imported, adopted and adapted within the Hittite context, achieving a remarkable significance, and while this cultural phenomenon only started in the early New Kingdom shortly before 1400 BC, these materials also reveal something of the local traditions and their origins.²⁰ It is *communis opinio* that because sections of these texts are recorded in languages other than Hittite, i.e. Hurrian and Luwian, a mixed cultural and linguistic environment existed in Kizzuwatna, identified by these two components.²¹ However, the texts themselves, on closer scrutiny, show that while the Hurrianization of the Kizzuwatnean religion is generalised, ostensibly in the usage of the language, ritual terminology, panthea and religious concepts, the Luwian presence is more elusive, both linguistically and culturally.²² We must underline that these written sources (primarily rituals and festival texts) present many challenges and were invariably altered through the agency of the Hittite scribes within the transmission process. Since the evidence is limited and secondary, aspects of population, society, and language in Kizzuwatna can thus be discussed primarily in terms of hypotheses and models, and different perspectives exist.

Regarding the status of Hurrian in Kizzuwatna, I have argued that the introduction of the language to Cilicia may have happened early in the second millennium, and should be contextualised within the dynamics of the diffusion of Hurrian in the Middle Bronze Age, rather than attributed primarily to the political and cultural influence of Mittani in the north Syrian macro-area in the 15th century.²³ This scenario provides a longterm background for the development of the distinctive local religious traditions, overwhelmingly based on Halabite and Syro/Hurrian components, and evidencing only residual local traits. Close ties between Cilicia and the lands immediately east of the Amanus in the archaeological record and the existence of important trade networks between these areas support a view of close connectivity across the Amanus in the early second millennium, and even earlier.²⁴ In their contribution to this volume, Novák and Kozal also suggest the possibility that Cilicia might have temporarily been part of, or dependent on the kingdom of Yamḥad.

As regards a Luwian component, a few texts show that rituals with Luwian incantations and traditions were attributed to authors and experts of Kizzuwatnean origin, but these texts do not show any “mixture” with the typical Hurrianized contents of the other Kizzuwatna rituals, which comprise the overwhelming majority of the corpus. This means that

²⁰ In this volume, see the articles by Hutter, on the traces of the local cults of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite documents, and by Warbinek, on the processes of integration of the foreign gods in central Anatolia.

²¹ The literature is relatively abundant but scattered; in the first comprehensive study on the rituals of Kizzuwatna, Haas and Wilhelm adopted this view (1974: 5–7), contemplating a “hurritisch-luwische Symbiose in Kizzuwatna”, after previous discussions by J. Friedrich, B. Rosenkranz, H. Otten, E. Laroche (quoted therein; p. 5 n. 1). Afterwards, most studies referring to Kizzuwatna reiterate similar views, although the specific question of the relation between Hurrian and Luwian contents has been rarely discussed explicitly; for a recent and important study, see Yakubovich 2010: 272–285.

²² For a detailed discussion of this question see Trameri 2024: 119–126, 493–507.

²³ For the possibility of an early Hurrianization of Cilicia in the context of the diffusion of Hurrian in the early second millennium see Trameri 2024: 105–118. Similar points in Trameri, forthcoming.

²⁴ Trameri 2024: 87–105. For the early trade attested in the texts from Ebla see recently Steinkeller 2021.

two distinct traditions existed, for which a historical explanation still escapes us.²⁵ One possibility is that the kingdom of Kizzuwatna controlled some areas with a strong Luwian presence, perhaps along the piedmont of the Taurus massif, where a Luwian linguistic continuum existed through the northern side of the Taurus in the Konya plain (the Hittite “Lower Land”).²⁶ This theory could explain the distance between the Hurrian background of the state religion of Kizzuwatna and the localized Luwian ritual traditions, akin both in contents and language to the south-central Anatolian milieu, and primarily bound to the knowledge and activity of individual experts from those locales.²⁷

In his contribution to these proceedings, Simon challenges some critical aspects of this reconstruction, namely pointing out the lack of evidence of a Hurrian *population* in Kizzuwatna – although this remains a topic separate from the existence of a strong Hurrian cultural and religious influence from the East. Although I have contemplated the possibility of early Hurrian migrations in the region (of religious experts, or groups of settlers in Cilicia), this interpretation is not strictly necessary to account for the early origins of the Hurrianized cults of Kizzuwatna.

While the cults of Kizzuwatna were largely Hurrianized, Hutter in this volume discusses the available traces of primary local traditions, belonging to a stratum of cult preceding Hurrianization and the Ḫalabite influence. His contribution argues for the importance of the cult of the Storm god of Manuziya – the central figure in the (*h*)*išuwā* festival (see *infra*) – and his consort Lelluri in an early stratum of the local religion of Kizzuwatna. It can be added that the centrality of landscape cults in the local religion stands out particularly in Kizzuwatna, with the many mountain gods apparently important in local cults; besides the Storm god of Manuziya (the name both of a mountain and a city), Šarruma was also a mountain god in origin.²⁸ We can also mention the long lists of mountains and rivers celebrated in the tenth tablet of the (*h*)*išuwā* festival and other texts of Kizzuwatnean heritage. In the mountains, sanctuaries (like the sanctuary on “Mount Išhara” mentioned in the donation text KUB 40.2) and special shrines were built (such as the *šinapši*-buildings, apparently traditional in Kizzuwatna), and other natural or anthropic “holy places” were venerated or set up, such as cult stelae (*huwaši*) and “thrones” of the Storm god (^{gis}GU.ZA ^d10).²⁹ Although these forms of religiosity have parallels in the Hittite area,

²⁵ Trameri 2024: 493–507. The texts with Luwian content, and with secure Kizzuwatnean provenance, are very few (*ritual of Zarpīya* CTH 757, the fragment KUB 35.8, and the *ritual of Maštigga for domestic quarrel* CTH 404.1–2). For the lack of overlap of Hurrian and Luwian contents, see *ibid.* Table 21 (p. 500–501).

²⁶ Note that in some recent contributions the recognition of a self-standing Kizzuwatna Luwian dialect (see Yakubovich 2010: 68–73) has been revised in favor of a model with an undifferentiated form of “southern” Luwian, spoken in an area including Kizzuwatna and the north of the Taurus; see Mouton–Yakubovich 2021: 46 and Yakubovich 2023: 288–289. Similarly Melchert 2013: 168.

²⁷ For a different model, which explains the ‘multilingualism’ of Kizzuwatna in terms of sociolinguistic stratification, more so than linguistic regionalization, see Yakubovich 2010: 272–285.

²⁸ On the complex divine personality and the multiple aspects of Šarruma, see Laroche 1963, Schwemer 2001: 484–487.

²⁹ A prayer of Muwatalli II for the Storm god of Kummani (CTH 382) discusses the restoration of such local mountain monuments and structures (*šuppa AŠRU* ‘holy places’, KBo 11.1 obv. 32), which were in a state of decline (KBo 11.1 obv. 20–28, 32–35). A discussion of this passage of the prayer in Trameri 2024: 406–408.

in the Kizzuwatna cults a strong connection between religious life and the landscape can be seen as a salient feature of the local tradition.

Funerary practices and traditions related to the cults of the dead also largely intersected with religious discourse. In this volume, Mouton provides the first study on these aspects in Kizzuwatna, based on the references to the dead and the ancestors in the rituals and festival texts of Kizzuwatnean origins. Unfortunately, there is little archaeological evidence for the funerary practices of Cilicia during the Late Bronze Age and, broadly speaking, for the whole second millennium.³⁰ Although in the past the monumental building constructed above the relief of Muwatalli II at Sirkeli³¹ was interpreted as a proper funerary structure or a mausoleum in honor of the deceased Hittite king, this interpretation no longer holds due to the much earlier date of the building, already plausible based on stratigraphic consideration and now also supported by ¹⁴C data.³² The salience of the location, perhaps the seat of an important temple or sanctuary, determined the choice to carve the reliefs here.

4. THE RISE OF MITTANI AND THE END OF THE INDEPENDENCE

Rapid developments in the diplomatic relations between Ḫattuša, Kizzuwatna and Mittani characterise the middle decades of the 15th century. Thanks to the treaty between the Hittite king Zidanza and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 25), dating to this period, we can establish an important synchronism with both the Hittite kingdom and Mittani. The document shows that Pilliya and Zidanza were contemporaries, and the presence of Pilliya in another treaty or contract from Alalah (AIT 3) allows a broad synchronism with the reign of the king of Mittani Paratarna. The latter tablet is of particular interest because it is the only surviving document that can be attributed, with moderate confidence, to the Kizzuwatna chancellery.³³

The Alalah tablet contains agreements made by Pilliya and Idrimi concerning borders and refugees, and mentions Paratarna as a superior authority under whose oversight the contract is concluded.³⁴ In literature, this document is usually taken as proof that Pilliya, just like Idrimi, was a subordinate of the Mittanian king.³⁵ From the long inscription of Idrimi's portrait statue, we learn he was subordinated to Paratarna and that he swore an oath

³⁰ See Trameri 2024: 306–307.

³¹ Hawkins 2024: 11–12, with references.

³² Novák 2020: 155; Trameri 2024: 305–306. On the relief see Novák and Kozal in this volume, with additional references.

³³ The stamp seal in the centre of the obverse was most likely Pilliya's. In Trameri 2024: 229–230 I tentatively suggested that traces of a Hieroglyphic Luwian sign are visible, which would additionally support this interpretation (see p. 288, fig. 32).

³⁴ AIT 3, rev. 40–42: “The day when Paratarna has sworn an oath by the gods with Idrimi, from that day (forward) fugitives are to be returned”.

³⁵ Wilhelm 1994: 293; 1995: 1249; Giorgieri 2005: 80 n. 8; von Dassow 2008: 34 (esp. n. 77). For the opposite interpretation (i.e. that Pilliya could be an independent party) see Wilhelm 1989: 26; Klengel 1999: 95–96 n. 40; Schwemer 2005: 182–183; 2007: 152; Weeden 2022: 559.

of loyalty in order to maintain his kingship in Alalaḫ under this overlord.³⁶ ALT 3 mentions Paratarna and the previous oath, but the formulation suggests that the subordination oath concerns only Idrimi, as G. Wilhelm initially suggested (1989, 26), and that otherwise Pilliya acts as an independent ruler in this contract. Within the otherwise carefully mirror-like structure of the text, an asymmetry between Idrimi and Pilliya emerges only in merit to their respective status before Paratarna, i.e. in being subordinate to Mittani.³⁷

Regardless of the exact interpretation of the document in this specific detail, the tablet clearly shows that Kizzuwatna had diplomatic contacts with its Syrian neighbours at Alalaḫ under Mittanian hegemony, which makes it likely that direct channels also existed with Mittani.³⁸ This fact makes it clear, at least in principle, that the long-lasting alliance with Ḫattuša had been invalidated. One also finds hints to this situation in the historical introduction of the later *Treaty of Tudḫaliya I and Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna* (CTH 41), which recounts that, some two generations earlier, Kizzuwatna stood on the Hittites' side, but later ceased to be a Hittite ally and turned instead to “Ḫurri” (Mittani).³⁹

More information on this period comes from another tablet from Alalaḫ (ALT 14), this time a deliberation of the Mittanian king Sauštatar concerning a quarrel between Sunaššura and the local king Niqmepa. This unilateral arbitration of Sauštatar shows unmistakably that one generation after Pilliya and Idrimi both local rulers were subordinate to Mittani, and thus that Kizzuwatna had lost status throughout these decades.⁴⁰ The typology of the document – a unidirectional resolution – distinguishes the content of this text neatly from the previous contracts with the Hittite kingdom and additionally confirms the reduced political status for Kizzuwatna.

5. THE INCORPORATION OF KIZZUWATNA INTO THE HITTITE KINGDOM

The last alliance treaty stipulated with the Hittite kingdom was concluded between Sunaššura and Tudḫaliya I (CTH 41). This treaty shows remarkable innovations in form and content, differing from the previous documents in many respects. It includes a historical introduction, providing information on the former relations between the two countries, but also on the latent conflict with Mittani. This treaty is in fact more about the enemy Mittani than about Kizzuwatna itself and its role in the political scenario – which was at this point an entirely subordinated one. From the Hittite perspective, the document's goal is to win back this essential ally: Kizzuwatna had been for some time an ally and then a state subordinate to Waššukkani.

³⁶ *Idrimi statue inscription*, 51–60. Ed. Lauinger 2024.

³⁷ A comprehensive discussion in Trameri 2024: 286–298.

³⁸ For a more detailed discussion on the relation between Kizzuwatna and Mittani, see Trameri, forthcoming.

³⁹ KBo 1.5, I 5–7: “Formerly, in the time of my grandfather, the land of Kizzuwatna was (on the side) of Ḫattuša. Afterwards, however, the land of Kizzuwatna defected/seceded from Ḫattuša, and turned to the land of Ḫurri”.

⁴⁰ ALT 14, 1–2: “Before Sauštatar, the king, Niqmepa brought a [legal case] against Sunaššura regarding (the possession of) Alawari”.

This treaty reveals, through unilateral or imperfect parity provisions, that the status of Kizzuwatna had become one of a subordinate kingdom, although still formally maintaining its independence. It is unknown whether the conclusion of the treaty was preceded by a military confrontation. Since this is not explicit, it is possible, instead, that the diplomatic efforts of Tudḫaliya were part of a well-planned strategy, whose final aim was to incorporate Kizzuwatna into the kingdom through a peaceful transition. If this is the case, the annexation or incorporation of Kizzuwatna appears to be unique, as elsewhere Tudḫaliya was active in an aggressive militaristic policy. He led campaigns to the west, reaching unprecedented distances in western Anatolia, and he conquered Išuwa in the east and probably reached Syria once again – the first Hittite king to do so since the early Old Kingdom, more than a century earlier.

In the present volume, E. von Dassow provides a new edition of the Hurrian text KpT 1.11, found at Şamuḫa-Kayalıpınar in 2005, with a novel interpretation of its historical setting. It is suggested that the document's content might be connected with the events leading to the annexation of Kizzuwatna. The text would record the perspective of Sunaššura on the events leading to his prior change of allegiance, in the manner of an *apologia* addressed to Tudḫaliya I, his new overlord. According to other interpretations, the tablet might contain information on campaigns carried out under Hittite command against Mittanian holdings in Mukiš, and has been attributed to the reign of Tudḫaliya's grandson, Tudḫaliya II.⁴¹

The definitive incorporation of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite Kingdom was achieved under the rule of Tudḫaliya's successors, Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya II (or II/III).⁴² This process faced obstacles and difficulties, however, in the changing geopolitical situation during their reigns. This phase of Hittite history is very difficult to reconstruct, due to the meagre evidence and the problems in attributing and dating some of the sources. It seems rather clear, however, that military actions were necessary also in the south, as a consequence of a generalized crisis of the kingdom beginning with the reign of Arnuwanda and the so-called "concentric invasions" at the time of Tudḫaliya II.⁴³

A significant moment in the incorporation process was the appointment of a son of Arnuwanda, Kantuzili, as High Priest (SANGA) of Teššob and Ḫebat in Kizzuwatna. Several documents of the time mention this important political figure, even if the information on his installation is only indirect.⁴⁴ In this role, Kantuzili was the highest political authority in the land, and his appointment probably marked the end of the local kingship. He is mentioned in texts and seal impressions from the most important Hittite sites with archives, Ḫattuša, Şapinuwa-Ortaköy, Şamuḫa-Kayalıpınar and Tapikka-Maşat Höyük. These show that he was in close contact with the Hittite court, particularly with his brother the king, Tudḫaliya II.

⁴¹ Wilhelm 2006: 236; 2019: 197; Rieken 2009: 133–135; Weeden 2022: 571.

⁴² For the problem of the identification of more than two Tudḫaliyas at the beginning of the Early New Kingdom, an overview in Trameri 2024: 315–320. The majority of scholars now opt for two Tudḫaliyas, Tudḫaliya I (father of Arnuwanda) and Tudḫaliya II (son of Arnuwanda), although the latter is also widely known in literature as "Tudḫaliya III" or "II/III", for reasons of consistency with the old literature.

⁴³ A summary of this historical phase in Trameri 2024: 356–361, 364–371, 375–378.

⁴⁴ In detail Trameri 2024: 379–385. For the sources on the two "priests" of Kizzuwatna, Kantuzili and Telipinu, see recently Bilgin 2018: 39–44.

It is unknown how the Priest dealt with the crisis of the Hittite kingdom during the “concentric invasions” and whether the territory of Kizzuwatna was lost. A text from the time of Ḫattušili III suggests that the enemies reached into the earth of Kizzuwatna and even burned Ḫattuša to the ground.⁴⁵ When Tudḫaliya II, with the aid of the general and future king Suppiluliuma, led a military resurgence which steered the kingdom out of the political crisis, presumably Kizzuwatna was brought back again under stable control – unless it had managed to resist on its own in the preceding years. Suppiluliuma, just as Arnuwanda had previously done, later installed his own son (Telipinu) as High Priest in Kizzuwatna. From this time on, and in particular after the final defeat of Mittani (ca. third quarter of the 14th century), Kizzuwatna became a province of the larger Empire, finalising the process of incorporation begun by Tudḫaliya a few generations before him.

It appears that the process of incorporation of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite kingdom produced some effects in the local archaeological record at an early stage. It can be argued that the appearance of the *Drab ware* pottery types, distinctive of the LBA II Hittite imperial landscape in the 14th and 13th century, had already begun in the last decades of the 15th century on the basis of the pottery sequences at Ḫattuša. At the key Cilician sites, the widespread diffusion of the central Anatolian pottery types marks a significant break, indicative of the impact of the Hittite political presence (= MCI 4). These might be connected with the Early New Kingdom phase of the progressive integration of Kizzuwatna, rather than with the beginning of the Empire period proper, after the accession of Suppiluliuma I some decades later (ca. 1350).⁴⁶

6. THE INFLUENCE OF KIZZUWATNA DURING THE HITTITE NEW KINGDOM AND THE EMPIRE PERIOD

The incorporation of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite kingdom corresponded to a remarkable cultural process, in which the role of Kizzuwatna appears to be central. The most salient aspects of this phenomenon are:

1) the diffusion of the Hurrian language in central Anatolia, which especially involved the royal elites and the customs of the Hittite court. This is mirrored, for example, in the adoption of Hurrian onomastics, but also signalled by the production of texts in Hurrian dedicated to/for the use of the royal elites (chiefly rituals and prayers).

2) the import of cults of deities and religious traditions native to Kizzuwatna into central Anatolia, which might have already begun with Tudḫaliya I⁴⁷ and characterised particularly the reign of Tudḫaliya II.

⁴⁵ *Edict of Ḫattušili III concerning the ḫekur Pirwa*, KBo 6.28+ (CTH 88), 12–15: “He (i.e. the enemy) made Šamuḫa the border; but then came the enemy from Išuwa, and devastated Tegarama. But from another direction [came] the enemy from Armatana, and he also devastated the lands of Ḫattuša. And [mad]e Kizzuwatna – the city – [the border], and the city of [Ḫat]tuša was burned to the ground”.

⁴⁶ For a discussion, see Trameri 2024: 371–374.

⁴⁷ For the texts indicating early adoption of Kizzuwatna cults (at the time of Tudḫaliya I) see Trameri 2024: 485–493.

3) the transmission of ritual literature in the Hittite archives through still unclear modalities, certainly involving the copy of written materials and their re-elaboration at Ḫattuša, but likely also through the agency of ritual experts native to Kizzuwatna.

The diffusion in central Anatolia of the Hurrian language and the Hurrianized cults began with the Early New Kingdom dynasty (Tudḫaliya I and successors), at the same time at which Kizzuwatna was incorporated into the Hittite kingdom. Hurrian is not only present in the religious texts in the form of technical terms, but there is clear evidence of the usage of Hurrian as a spoken language at Ḫattuša both for recitations in festivals and rituals, and – quite importantly – for the composition of original texts. One cannot ignore the monolingual Hurrian prayers attributed to members of the royal family, namely the king and the queen.⁴⁸ Even assuming they were not the actual ‘authors’ of the prayers, reciting these texts requires significant knowledge of the language. Hurrian onomastics among the members of the royal family, notably queens at first, and then princes and kings with double Hittite–Hurrian throne names⁴⁹ (after Tudḫaliya II) is another novelty in the customs of the Hittite rulers. All these aspects have been tentatively explained through Kizzuwatnean influence or mediation, although a plausible alternative sees a direct connection with Aleppo.

Indicating a role for Kizzuwatna in the transmission of Hurrian texts are possible traces of the existence of original Hurrian texts in Kizzuwatna, such as the materials at the basis of the mainly Hurrian tablets (so-called *Vorlagen*, KUB 45.21 and KBo 23.23+) of the ritual of Allaituraḫḫi of Mukiš (CTH 780), whose transmission likely involved Kizzuwatna.⁵⁰ One wonders about the original form of the ritual attributed to king Piliya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 475):⁵¹ The Hurrian technical terminology in this text is particularly abundant and must have characterized the original text. Miller (2004: 469–523) likewise considered the existence of original ritual literature in Kizzuwatna, from which the texts must have been copied and/or adapted.⁵²

In this volume, de Martino posits a plausible connection between the largely Hurrian ritual *itkalzi* and Kizzuwatna, due to close similarities with the ritual of Ammiḫatna (CTH 471), the kind of deities involved, and not least the importance of the cult of mountains and rivers in this festival – which we discussed previously; although representing a wide geographic horizon, similar contents are critical in another important festival of assured Kizzuwatnean provenance, the (*h*)*išuwa* festival, edited under the auspices of queen Pudu-Ḫeba in the 13th century (see *infra*).

⁴⁸ See e.g. the prayer ChS I/1 41 (CTH 777.8), recited by Tadu-Ḫeba for the well being of Tašmi-šarri/Tudḫaliya II. For a number of other Hurrian texts of interest for this topic, see Trameri 2024: 481–485. Recitations in Hurrian exist of course also in the ritual and festival literature, above all the series *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi*, dating to this period (CTH 777 and 778; on the *itkalzi* see de Martino in this volume).

⁴⁹ On this topic Beal 2002.

⁵⁰ Ferrandi 2016: 193–194; on the transmission of this text see also Miller 2005. Discussion in Trameri 2024: 507–509.

⁵¹ Ed. Beckman 2013. Discussion in Trameri 2024: 512–513.

⁵² See also Miller 2004: 256, where he postulated that between the end of the Old Hittite and in the Middle Hittite period “(...) the textual material was created in Kizzuwatna, presumably alongside an active oral tradition”. Soon after having access to the archives of Kizzuwatna, the Hittites presumably began copying the texts.

Alternative origins of this phenomenon of Hurrianization seem less attractive, such as a Mittanian connection, due to the terrible diplomatic relations at this time. Certainly, Aleppo is the best alternative candidate, given the centrality of its traditions within the Hittite New Kingdom/Empire period's religious novelties. One might also weigh in the existence of a Hittite historiographic tradition according to which Tudḫaliya (I or II?) had vanquished Aleppo.⁵³ On the other hand, the Ḫalabite elements also strongly characterised the religion of Kizzuwatna – in my view since an early date – thus allowing the option of Kizzuwatnean mediation through the conquest of the region, of which we are much better informed.

This peculiar process of cultural influence demonstrates deep contacts between Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna. The annexation of the region certainly meant, for the Hittite rulers, the need to manage the local institutions and their cultic regimes from an administrative perspective.⁵⁴ This is one reason for the growing interest of the Hittite royal circles in the matters of local cults. However, several documents demonstrate – beginning with the time of Tudḫaliya I onwards – that the influence of the local cults also meant a radical transformation of the Hittite religious world.

Several scholars have considered that a dynastic union of the two royal families of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna explains these dynamics well, although there are only indirect hints in support of this hypothesis (which has been detailed in various forms).⁵⁵ While this reconstruction is currently impossible to verify, it is plausible that Nikal-madi, the queen of Tudḫaliya I, was indeed of Kizzuwatnean origin. It is also possible that other queens of the Early New Kingdom, in particular the two wives of Tudḫaliya II (Šadandu-Ḫeba and Tadu-Ḫeba), were also Kizzuwatnean, but in their case it is possible that, by this time, the usage of Hurrian onomastics had become customary within the Hittite royal family and the highest elites in Ḫattuša.

Elsewhere, I have argued that the unusually high status of the queens of Tudḫaliya I (Nikal-madi) and Arnuwanda I (Ašmu-Nikal) in the documents might be connected with a dynastic union. Seals of queens and a new type of seal featuring the names of the rulers as a royal couple appear in this period, and queens also appear in documents of official character.⁵⁶ Nikal-madi's high status might derive from the fact that she was a member of the royal house of Kizzuwatna or a clan of high rank of the land. As for Ašmu-Nikal, Nikal-madi's daughter with Tudḫaliya, as royal princess she was the person who actually transmitted the throne in the following generation, by marriage with a chosen successor

⁵³ *Aleppo treaty* (CTH 75); KBo 1.6 obv. 15–18: “When Tudḫaliya, Great King, ascended to the throne [of kingship], the king of Aleppo made peace with him. But the king of Aleppo turned around and settled with the king of Hanigalbat. Then because of this matter he destroyed them – the king of Hanigalbat and the king of Aleppo, [...]. And he dismantled the city of Aleppo” (transl. Beckman 1999: 94).

⁵⁴ On this topic see Gilan 2019.

⁵⁵ E.g. Houwink ten Cate 1998: esp. 43–50; Beal 2002: 69; Freu 2007: 118; Campbell 2016; de Martino 2022: 222–227. A detailed discussion of this hypothesis, and connected topics, in Trameri 2024: 348–362. For different views, see e.g. the skepticism of Miller 2004: 356.

⁵⁶ For these documents, see Trameri 2024: 232–234, 348–353, and 356–359. Regarding the decree issued by queen Ašmu-Nikal (KUB 13.8) see the discussion in the article of Hutter-Braunsar in this volume.

adopted into the royal family (Arnuwanda).⁵⁷ Otherwise, their Hurrian names, a novelty in the Hittite nobility, are transparent as for their presumable southern origins (whether Kizzuwatnean, Ḫalabite, or else). In this volume, Hutter-Braunsar discusses this problem, vouching for a multicausal explanation for the particular changes in the role of queens with the Early New Kingdom, and for the high status of Ašmu-Nikal in the sources, not necessarily to be connected with Kizzuwatnean influence.

In his contribution to the proceedings, de Martino discusses why a Hurrian purification ritual (*itkalzi*) had to be created for the Hittite king, Tudḫaliya II. Since the Hurrian texts in the tablet collections of Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa-Ortaköy largely date to the reigns of Tudḫaliya II and Tadu-Ḫeba, he considers whether the queen may have been responsible for the predilection for the Hurrian language and Hurrian traditions at the Hittite court. Thus, a possible union with a Kizzuwatnean aristocracy might be assigned to this ruler, rather than his predecessors.

Also in this volume, Taracha provides yet a different perspective on the new dynasty of Tudḫaliya I at the beginning of the new kingdom, arguing for Luwian origins, possibly linked with the Lower Land. It is also argued that the cultural change and religious innovations were the result of foreign scholarly and textual traditions imported to Ḫattuša, rather than bound to kinship ties at the level of ruling elites. Even within this different framework for the wave of novelties at the beginning of the Hittite new kingdom, certain influences can be assigned to Kizzuwatna directly, or to a Syrian stratum going back as early as the second-millennium Yamḫad, of which Kizzuwatna was a plausible mediator.

Independently from the specific historical explanation, which will most likely escape us unless direct evidence appears to clear the mist, the new, strong connection with Kizzuwatna had a critical influence on the Hittite Early New Kingdom intellectual products, as, for example, with novel text types and with changes in influential activities in the religious sphere, such as festivals and public ceremonies.

Even though Kizzuwatna had been relegated to the role of a province, the documents of the New Kingdom show, at the same time, that it had become an essential constituent of the Hittite Empire, and its regional-territorial identity survived until the disappearance of the Empire itself. This identity remained salient, especially in the religious discourse, as displayed by the degree to which the Hittites catered to the revered local religious traditions, sanctuaries and sacred institutions and by the central role assigned to the Kizzuwatnean traditions in the official cults and ceremonies of the Hittite state.

About a century after the annexation of Kizzuwatna, in the mid-13th century a queen native to Kizzuwatna was probably the most influential and certainly the best documented queen of the Hittite kingdom. Pudu-Ḫeba proudly recalled her Kizzuwatnean origins in her official titles, and was an affectionate promoter of the traditions of her homeland.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For the hypothesis that Arnuwanda became king as son-in-law, through the marriage with Ašmu-Nikal, see Beal 1983: 115–122, Beckman 1986: 23 n. 51 and Bryce 2005: 128–129 (for discussion and additional references Trameri 2024: 356–358).

⁵⁸ On Pudu-Ḫeba see especially Darga 1974; Otten 1975; De Roos 2006; Ünal 2014b. An overview of her life and activity as Hittite queen, and a discussion of her Kizzuwatnean heritage, in Trameri 2024: 414–433.

She was a daughter of the priest of Ištar/Šavoška of Lawazantiya in Kizzuwatna, Pendib-šarri, and herself also a priestess. Ḫattušili – at that time king of the Hittite Upper Land, based in Ḫakmiš – met her in Kizzuwatna while he was travelling back to central Anatolia after the battle of Kadeš (ca. 1274 BCE), where he led his armies against Egypt in support of his brother, king Muwatalli II.⁵⁹ During the reign of Ḫattušili, it is likely that Pudu-Ḫeba had an important role in reviving the old Kizzuwatnean traditions, but throughout the Empire period the religious sources show that the prestige of the local religion had remained unaltered, as well as the devotion and attention of the royal elites to those cults.

Therefore, the primary role of Pudu-Ḫeba and Ḫattušili in the diffusion of the local cults might have been to some degree overestimated in the past, since it is now clear that the major and most impactful wave of cultural influence from Kizzuwatna dates back to the Early New Kingdom. Still, Pudu-Ḫeba showed a particular interest in fostering the cults of her native country, as shown especially by her order to research old tablets in the archives for the preparation of a complete version of the (*h*)išuwa festival, primarily dedicated to the Storm god of Manuziya.⁶⁰ This peculiar undertaking is remarkable for its quasi-philological scope, and for the methodological approach emerging from the instructions to research into old reference materials. The goal was to prepare a complete and authoritative text for the celebration of a local festival previously not attested at the capital (at least not in its complete form).

The late Empire is also the period in which scant information exists on the administration of Kizzuwatna as a province. A letter from Ugarit⁶¹ written by the governor of Kizzuwatna (GAR-^ʿkin¹ KUR *ku-zu-at-na-ma*), Maduallanura, to the local ruler Niqmadu III is the only source showing that at this time governors ruled locally, but this system may well precede the time of Tudḫaliya IV, to whose reign the letter dates (last quarter of the 13th century). A few fragmentary sources also provide information about the extraction of tributes, of particular interest since they list tributes in form of metal deliveries of tin and copper.⁶² In these texts – for those limited parts which survive – Kizzuwatna/Kummani is the largest contributor among the towns listed.

Dating to the late Empire period, a relief with a Luwian Hieroglyphic inscription carved at Hemite in central Cilicia, on a rocky outcrop by the course of the Ceyhan river, is the second source of this kind in Cilicia, together with the relief carved for Muwatalli II at the citadel of Sirkeli.⁶³ The monument, carved by a “prince” []-Tarḫunta, son of Tarḫunta-[] has many similarities to others executed further northeast, in the

⁵⁹ *Apology/autobiography of Ḫattušili III*, KUB 1.1+ (CTH 81.A), II 79-III 4: “(...) When I returned from Egypt, I marched to the city of Lawazantiya to bring offerings to the goddess and worship the goddess. At the behest of the goddess I took Pudu-Ḫeba, the daughter of Pentib-šarri, the Priest, for my wife: we joined (in matrimony) [and] the goddess gave us the love of husband and wife. (...)” (transl. van den Hout 1997: 202).

⁶⁰ A complete edition of this ritual remains a desideratum. A summary with literature, an overview of the content and discussion in Trameri 2024: 433–444.

⁶¹ RSO 23.14 (RS 94.2486).

⁶² KBo 18.164 (+) KUB 26.67; also KUB 42.29+; ed. Burgin 2022: II, 87–91 and 87 with references. Discussion in Trameri 2024: 446–449.

⁶³ Lastly Hawkins 2024: 95–96 with previous literature.

mountains of the Gezbel pass,⁶⁴ which allows its dating to this period. However, it is uncertain whether the monument might date to the last years of the Empire or after its fall: either way, this is an important source for local history, and a signal of the disintegration of central imperial power, before or immediately after its demise.

7. THE FALL OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE IN CILICIA

The historical memory of Kizzuwatna faded, just like that of the Hittite kingdom, with the epochal changes of the Late Bronze Age. Due to our reliance on written sources for the study of the Hittite period, the interruption of the Hittite records is a significant challenge for a historical discussion of the fall of the Empire itself, as well as the beginning of the Iron Age in Cilicia. A few centuries later, we find in Plain Cilicia at least one local kingdom, called primarily Hiyawa and Que/Qaue (the Assyrian rendering of the local name), and possibly also Adanawa.⁶⁵ The earliest sources for the kingdom of Hiyawa date approximately to the end of the 10th century (stelae inscriptions ARSUZ 1 and 2, see *infra*), but its origins remain obscure.

Archaeologically, some Cilician sites show a degree of continuity in the new period, particularly with a transitional phase that might be labelled LBA III (= NCI 1), approximately covering the first three quarters of the 12th century, before the beginning of the Iron Age proper (from the 11th century). However, the impact of the disruption of the imperial centralized structures is otherwise very recognizable in the material cultural record. One of the clearest signals of transformation is the resurgence – throughout the whole of Anatolia – of local productions of painted potteries; these pottery types show elements of continuity with older traditions, obscured by the overwhelming diffusion of the standardised Hittite repertoire, which had replaced them cross-regionally.⁶⁶

In the current understanding, the only sites in Cilicia that preserve a continuous record through these periods, and that can offer some information on the transition, are Tarsus and the coastal site of Kinet Höyük, at the Gulf of İskenderun (perhaps Hitt. Izziya; later Gr. Issos). Pottery transformations were relatively gradual at these sites. The most informative site for the study of the transition into the Iron Age is Kinet Höyük, and the recognition of a transitional LBA III period relies primarily on the basis of its pottery record.⁶⁷ At the beginning of the Iron Age, however, the material cultural change at this

⁶⁴ In the area around the Gezbel pass four relief with inscriptions were carved, named after the localities of Fratkin, Taşçı (two separate reliefs), İmamkulu, Hanyeri (see now Hawkins 2024: 12–14, 90–95). An overview in Trameri 2024: 71–76.

⁶⁵ For discussions of the relation among these toponyms see in particular Yakubovich 2015a and 2015b, Hawkins 2015, Bryce 2016. For an overview on the Iron Age states in central and southern Anatolia and northern Syria (often also so-called “Neo-Hittite” in literature) see Weeden 2023.

⁶⁶ On the traditions of Late Bronze Age painted potteries across the Hittite controlled territories see the edited volume Manuelli–Mielke 2022.

⁶⁷ Lehmann 2017.

site is very remarkable, and has prompted archaeologists to consider the idea that the new materials, architectural evidence and faunal remains may reflect a different population settling at the site, as well as a radical transformation of the way of life and the usage of the landscape and natural resources. Due to the lack of data for the same period at other sites, it is difficult to establish whether a similar situation applies elsewhere, at a regional scale.

One important marker of the 12th century, which already begins with occasional finds in the last decades of the 13th century at some sites, such as Tarsus, is the diffusion of Mycenaean pottery types and decorations. Given the quantity, distribution and characteristics of these materials, usually locally produced, they can hardly be considered evidence for Mycenaean Greek settlers in Cilicia.⁶⁸ On the contrary, the appearance of these materials can be explained by changes in contact patterns, perhaps now involving new routes and directions of trade, and can be contextualized both against the background of the fall of the Hittite Empire and the dissolution of the Late Bronze Age political structures locally and inter-regionally.

The topic of the beginning of the Iron Age in Cilicia is of obvious interest historically, particularly for an investigation of the possible elements of continuity and the survival of previous traditions of Kizzuwatna into the first millennium, within – but possibly also beyond – the local polities of the fragmented political panorama of the so-called “Neo Hittite” states. Although the name of Kizzuwatna otherwise disappeared from history, Shalmaneser III (859–824), during his campaign across the Amanus against Katei and Qae/Que, took Lusanda (Lawazantiya), Abarnani and Kisuatni (Kizzuwatna/Kummani),⁶⁹ showing that at least several local toponyms survived for several centuries locally; today, Tarsus and Adana still bear their old names. The 10th century BC twin stelae from Arsuz (ARSUZ 1 and 2) in the southernmost coast of Cilicia, written by Suppiluliuma of Falastin (also Walastin or Palastin) show the perduring importance of the Storm god of Aleppo and the Bronze Age Hurrian mythological traditions in the region.⁷⁰ Also worthy of mention is the striking case of continuity from the Empire tradition of the dynasty at Kummuh (classical Commagene), whose rulers maintained the Hittite New Kingdom royal onomastic traditions.⁷¹ Other Hittite traditions survived in this kingdom as well, as indicated, for example, by the references in Assyrian letters to local experts in augury (bird oracles), a science for which the locals were well-regarded specialists.⁷² Thus, the investigation into the transition to the Iron Age in southern Anatolia and Cilicia remains a research topic full of potential, especially in view of an ever-growing body of evidence and new discoveries, both epigraphic and archaeological.

⁶⁸ On the Helladic potteries in Cilicia see an overview in French 2013; Lehmann 2017: 344; Mountjoy et al. 2018.

⁶⁹ *Annals of Shalmaneser III*, IV 26–27; ed. Grayson 1996: 50–56; discussion in Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 283–284 with references.

⁷⁰ On the Arsuz inscriptions see Dinçol et al. 2015; Hawkins 2024: 138–145.

⁷¹ Hawkins 2000: I, 330–360; Weeden 2023: 965.

⁷² On this topic see Radner 2009.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF KIZZUWATNA: DATA, RESEARCH, QUESTIONS

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Abstract

Kizzuwatna was initially a Late Bronze Age kingdom situated between Mittani and Hatti, eventually becoming a province of the latter. For decades, the only excavations yielding information on its material culture were at Tarsus-Gözlükule and Mersin-Yumuktepe. However, recent excavations over the past two decades at these sites, along with Soli Höyük, Adana-Tepebağ, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, and Kinet Höyük, have facilitated the development of a more comprehensive picture of the region.

This paper aims to provide a brief overview of the current state of archaeological research through a newly established regional stratigraphical and chronological sequence. Despite these advances, many questions remain unanswered, and further excavations are necessary to address these gaps in our understanding.

1. INTRODUCTION

The archaeology of Cilicia has experienced a significant intensification of research over the past twenty years due to the initiation of numerous excavations. Consequently, the cultural history of the region is increasingly well understood, yielding important insights into chronology, cultural relationships, production technologies, economy and subsistence, as well as the socio-ecological context.

Many large sites in Plain Cilicia have long occupation histories and form multi-period mounds, known as *tall*, *tepe* or *höyük* settlements. Thus, the layers of earlier periods are buried beneath those of later periods and can only be exposed after the removal of overlying strata. Consequently, our knowledge of archaeological remains diminishes with their age. While the Iron Age has been thoroughly researched across all sites, information about the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is considerably less abundant, and the Early Bronze Age remains underexplored. However, ongoing excavations are rapidly increasing data on these earlier periods, making any current overview provisional and potentially outdated within a few years. Moreover, only preliminary reports on recent excavations are available, complicating comprehensive analysis.

Despite these limitations, the following provides a brief overview of the current state of knowledge on the archaeology of Kizzuwatna, while acknowledging its incompleteness and reliance on subjective interpretations. Since understanding the Late Bronze Age context necessitates a background in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, this overview will begin with these earlier periods.

2. GENERAL SITUATION

2.1. *Geography*

Plain Cilicia (Ancient Greek: *Kilikia Pedias*, Latin: *Cilicia Campestris*) is a highly fertile, water-rich, alluvial region in southern Türkiye, clearly defined by geographical features that demarcate it from its neighbouring regions (Rutishauser, 2017; Rutishauser, 2020). To the west and north, the Taurus Mountains, and to the east, the Amanus Mountains, enclose the region, while to the south lies the Mediterranean Sea with the Gulf of İskenderun. This geographical setting places Plain Cilicia at a strategic interface between the larger regions of Anatolia, Cyprus, and Syro-Mesopotamia, including the Levant (fig. 1).

The major pre-Hellenistic sites in Plain Cilicia are aligned along an east-west axis, interpreted as an ancient trade and transportation route (Novák and Rutishauser 2017). Beginning at Amanus, this route traverses the heart of the plain and terminates at the outlet of the Göksu River (ancient *Kalykadnos*) on the border with Rough Cilicia (Ancient Greek: *Kilikia Tracheia*, Latin: *Cilicia Aspera*). In the east, this route integrates into the road network of the Northern Levant through two crucial passes in the Amanus Mountains: the ‘Amanian Gate’ (modern Bahçe Pass) northwards towards Antep, and the ‘Syrian Gate’ (modern Belen Pass) southwards towards Antakya and Aleppo. To the west, it connects with the Central Anatolian network via the Göksu Valley. This central axis has been referred to by M. Forlanini as the ‘Transverse Highway of Kizzuwatna’ or ‘Cilician Transverse Highway’ (Forlanini 2013: 2–3). Additionally, two routes branch off northwards from this transversal axis, providing further access to Central Anatolia: the first from Tarsus through the ‘Cilician Gate’ to Niğde, a route later followed by the ‘Baghdad Railway’ and a modern highway; the second route passes through Anazarbos, Kozan (ancient *Sis*), Fekke, the Gezbel Pass, and Firaktın near Develi to Kayseri (Novák and Rutishauser 2017: 144; Kozal 2018: 227).

These geographical features not only provided Plain Cilicia with natural protection, but also ensured its integration into a broader interregional transport network, facilitating connections with neighbouring regions throughout antiquity. The plain is irrigated and drained by several rivers, the most important of which are the Seyhan (*Saros*) and the Ceyhan (*Pyramos*).

2.2. *Excavation History*

The exploration of Plain Cilicia’s archaeological sites has evolved significantly over time. Initial investigations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were sporadic. A more systematic approach began in the 1930s with Hetty Goldman’s excavations at Tarsus-Gözlükule and John Garstang’s work at Kazanlı Höyük, Sirkeli Höyük and notably Mersin-Yumuktepe (Rutishauser 2020: 60–81). From 1947 onwards, Helmuth Bossert initiated excavations at Karatepe, also working at Misis during the 1950s. Concurrently, Veronique Seton-Williams conducted the region’s first systematic survey. After a hiatus from the late 1950s to the early 1990s, systematic excavations resumed in the 1990s at Sirkeli Höyük by Barthel Hrouda and Horst Ehringhaus, and at Kinet Höyük by Marie-Henriette and Charles Gates.

Since the 2000s, intensive excavations have expanded to include Soli Höyük, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Adana-Tepebağ, Misis Höyük, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, and Kinet Höyük (Cilician Chronology Group 2017). Additionally, smaller-scale rescue excavations overseen by the Adana Museum have occurred intermittently at various locations, supplemented by comprehensive surveys (Rutishauser 2020: 78–81).

2.3. *Chronology*

Chronological studies in the Near East have long been contentious, encompassing both absolute and relative dating challenges. Terminology inconsistencies are common, with different terms sometimes referring to the same period (e.g., ‘k̄arum-Period’ and ‘Middle Bronze Age’), or identical terms representing distinct periods (e.g., ‘Late Bronze Age I’ in Anatolia versus the Northern Levant). Furthermore, conventional chronological frameworks often oversimplify complex historical contexts. For instance, Hetty Goldman utilized a conventional tripartite system (Stone Age – Bronze Age – Iron Age, Early – Middle – Late Bronze Age, Early Bronze Age I – II – III) in her Tarsus-Gözlükule excavations.

A robust chronology should integrate diverse sources, including historical records, material culture typology, socio-economic analyses, written documents, architecture, ceramics, artifacts, and subsistence patterns reconstructed from palaeobotanical and archaeozoological studies. The international project ‘Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (ARCANE)’ exemplifies a comprehensive method that challenges traditional 3rd millennium BCE chronologies, proposing regional terminologies like ‘Early Jezirah (EJZ)’ and ‘Early Middle Euphrates (EME)’ (Lebeau 2011). A similar approach is underway for Plain Cilicia through initiatives such as the comparative stratigraphy established by the Cilician Chronology Group (2017), though caution is warranted regarding assumptions of synchronicity across all sites within a region, and potential oversights in the shifting borders of political or cultural entities.

Given the distinctive material culture of Plain Cilicia compared to both the Northern Levant and Central Anatolia, and its status as a distinct cultural region, it merits its own regional chronology and terminology: Early Cilician (ECI), Old Cilician (OCI), Middle Cilician (MCI), and Neo Cilician (NCI), following the ARCANE system (Novák, Kozal, Kulemann-Ossen, and Yaşin 2020). This terminology will be used throughout this discussion (fig. 2).

2.4. *Settlement Distribution*

The major Bronze and Iron Age sites of Plain Cilicia are strategically positioned at nearly equal intervals along the ‘Transverse Highway of Kizzuwatna’, spanning from east to west (Rutishauser 2017: 137, Fig. 13): Kinet Höyük (towards the Syrian Gate), Tatarlı Höyük (below the Amanian Gate), Sirkeli Höyük, Misis Höyük, Adana-Tepebağ, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Mersin-Yumuktepe, and Soli Höyük (see fig. 1). Apart from Soli Höyük and Misis, all these sites exhibit significant settlement evidence during both the Old and Middle Cilician Periods (Cilician Chronology Group 2017: 182), suggesting that the ‘Transverse Highway of Kizzuwatna’ likely functioned as a major transport route by the early 2nd millennium BCE. This axis not only hosts the principal sites, but also numerous smaller mounds scattered

along its path. Generally, sites cluster in the western part of Plain Cilicia, the Çukurova, and its eastern part, the Yukarıova, divided by the Misis Mountains (fig. 3).

Survey findings suggest, albeit without definitive evidence from pottery illustrations, that new settlements emerged following the establishment of Kizzuwatna in the 16th century BCE, reflecting a 40% increase in settlements from the Old Cilician (63 sites) to the Middle Cilician Period (88 sites) across both clusters of settlements (Novák and Rutishauser 2017: 139). Pottery records indicate that only five sites in the plain exclusively feature OCI pottery with no evidence of MCI artifacts. This suggests that the increase cannot solely be attributed to natural demographic growth and may indicate a state-led settlement policy. However, the situation at Sirkeli Höyük reveals a reduction in settlement size during the MCI-period, due to the abandonment of the lower town previously occupied by independent private entrepreneurs (Novák 2020: 153–154). If this pattern is widespread, it implies a de-centralization of settlement practices from fewer but larger to more and smaller sites, rather than demographic shifts.

Based on current data, which relies on surveys lacking pottery illustrations, settlements are most densely concentrated in the northeastern Yukarıova region of the plain. Only a dozen MCI-era sites are located in the central western plain around Adana, some possibly situated along a road connecting the river port site of Domuztepe (Seton Williams 1954: 154, Nr. 74), possibly ancient Mallos, with Adaniya. Westward, there are few other towns along the coastal road from Adana through Tarsus to Mersin and the Göksu estuary (Novák and Rutishauser 2017: 137). The localization of harbour sites in Cilicia suggests major river estuaries with former lagoons (Taffet 2001: 131), with identified sites possibly including Silifke (Ura?), Soli Höyük, Kazanlı, and Kinet Höyük, and potential river ports like Tarsus, Sirkeli Höyük, Domuztepe, Kara Höyük, and Kilise Tepe. Notably, both centralized urban systems and gateway communities are evident in Cilicia (Wawruschka 2012; Novák 2020: 146–148).

In summary, the transition from the Old to Middle Cilician period suggests an increase in the number of settlements alongside a reduction in settlement size during the MCI era. Surveys lacking pottery illustrations suggest a biased distribution with the highest settlement density clustered in the eastern Yukarıova, around the major mounds Tatarlı Höyük and Sirkeli Höyük during the existence of the kingdom and province of Kizzuwatna. Further research is needed to determine whether this shift coincided with a political centre relocation and to understand the significance of the altered settlement pattern with multiple smaller settlements compared to fewer, potentially larger settlements in earlier periods.

3. BEFORE KIZZUWATNA

3.1. *The Early Cilician Period (3rd Millennium BCE)*

While the Late Bronze Age (Middle Cilician I, MCI) and the Iron Age (New Cilician I, NCI) in Cilicia have been well-researched through numerous excavations, earlier periods have only been thoroughly investigated at a few key sites: Tarsus-Gözlükule, Mersin-Yumuktepe, and Kinet Höyük. Other excavations, such as Sirkeli Höyük and Tatarlı Höyük, have

explored these periods only selectively and sporadically. This is due to the settlement continuity at larger sites, where layers from the 3rd and early 2nd millennium BCE are often buried under many meters of later cultural deposits.

Knowledge of the Early Bronze Age in Cilicia is particularly patchy. Early excavations at Mersin-Yumuktepe (Caneva in: Cilicia Chronology Group 2017) and Tarsus-Gözlükule (Mellink 1989, 1993; Özyar 2017) remained the primary sources for understanding Cilicia's cultural history during these periods until recent years. Now, Kinet Höyük provides a well-investigated stratigraphical sequence based on modern excavation methods, covering the entire timespan from approximately 2800 to 2050 BCE, thus encompassing periods ECI 2–5 (Eslick 2021 and 2024). However, as Kinet Höyük is located on the eastern periphery of Plain Cilicia, its material culture differs significantly from that of Tarsus in the western part of the region. This suggests regional variations in material culture and possibly political fragmentation in Cilicia during this period.

A well-established sequence from the central plains of Cilicia is essential for understanding regional connections, as this area could provide links between the eastern and western parts. At this time, Plain Cilicia already exhibited a differentiated settlement hierarchy (Wawruschka 2012).

It is clear from the available archaeological material that Cilicia played a significant role in interregional exchange processes during the Early Bronze Age, connecting the Northern Levant, Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean region (Massa and Palmisano 2018; Eslick 2021; Mellink 1989).¹ This is also evidenced by objects from the so-called 'depot' from Soloi, reportedly discovered in 1889 and housed in the Vorderasiatische Museum Berlin. Kurt Bittel first published these findings in 1940, incorrectly dating them to the Middle Bronze Age based on comparisons with objects from the Til-Barsip hypogeum (Bittel 1940: 202–204). Nowadays perspectives date the Til-Barsip hypogeum to the Early Bronze Age, specifically the Early Middle Euphrates (EME) 4 period (Finkbeiner et al. 2015: 33), necessitating the re-dating of the Soloi depot to the corresponding Early Cilician 4 period (ca. 2420–2250 BCE). The metal objects show striking similarities primarily to those from the Northern Levant and, to a lesser degree, to those from Central and Western Anatolia and the Aegean.

Historically, little is certain about Cilicia in the 3rd millennium BCE due to a lack of regional archives and clear external sources. However, R.D. Winters, G. Biga, and P. Steinkeller have suggested that Kablul, Armi/Arman(i)um, and Ura, which are documented in the Ebla archive and Akkadian inscriptions from Mesopotamia, might be located in Cilicia or be identical to it (Winters 2019; Biga and Steinkeller 2021; Steinkeller 2021). If true, this would place Cilicia in a historical context and provide clues about the ethno-linguistic composition of its population.

3.2. *The Old Cilician Period (ca. 2050–1530 BCE)*

During the Old Cilician Period, architectural remains and stratigraphic sequences were uncovered at several sites, although more information is needed on public buildings and general settlement structures. To shed light on these aspects, the example of Sirkeli Höyük

¹ On the networks of this period in general, see also Jablonka 2014 and 2018.

will be discussed (Novák 2020: 151–152). The settlement appears extensive, with occupation layers attested at almost every excavated point, covering at least eight hectares. A wide distribution of OCI pottery was revealed in the plains to the north and west of the mound. Although no contemporary sherds were found in the southeastern survey area, heavily burnt dwelling structures from this period were exposed in a sounding below the NCI period town wall in Sector F in the lower town (Sollee et al. 2020: 222–223, 243–244). Later sedimentation prevented significant quantities of ceramic material from reaching the surface from these deep layers. The OCI settlement thus likely expanded beyond the NCI lower town boundaries. Several OCI sherds were discovered on the surface in the southern survey area, indicating the expansion of a lower town to that area. The survey on the opposite side of the Ceyhan River also shows dense settlement during the OCI period. Hence, archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement of the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE spanned at least 50 hectares, encompassing both sides of the river, a citadel or upper town, a lower town, and a suburb. Previous excavations and a surface scraping on the southwestern slope of the citadel mound indicate an 8-meter-thick occupation layer between approximately 34 to 42 meters above sea level, suggesting a long sequence of occupation.

During the 2020–22 campaigns, a step trench was begun in Sector A in the northwest of the Outer Citadel, below the MCI building A1 (fig. 4). Eight occupation phases (A17–24) covering the entire Old Cilician Period were uncovered beneath the stone slab floor from phase A16 (MCI 1). Phases A24–23 belong to OCI 1, A22–20 to OCI 2, and A19–17 to OCI 3. Destruction layers ended phases A21 and A17. Floor inventories with Syro-Cilician Painted, Red Slip and Plain Ware Pottery were found in phases A23 and A21.

Similar sequences have been explored in Tarsus-Gözlükule (Goldman 1956: 40–46; Slane 1987 and 2006), Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 225–226), and Kinet Höyük (Gates 1999–2000). In Mersin-Yumuktepe, at least OCI 1 and OCI 3 layers are attested (Cilician Chronology Group 2017: 182). In most cases, domestic architecture has been discovered, except at Kinet Höyük, where a monumental MB II Building was exposed. This building showed two phases, both ending in destruction by fire, with phase 1 belonging to OCI 2 and phase 2 to OCI 3, dated around 1670 BCE and 1525 BCE, respectively (Gates 1999–2000: 88–89; Gates in Cilicia Chronology Group 2017).

Cilicia's settlement system in the Old Cilician Period showed strong differentiation and hierarchization, similar to the Early Cilician Period, with both central sites and gateway communities (Wawruschka 2012; Novák 2020; Rutishauser 2020). The end of Old Cilician 2 is marked by destruction layers in Tarsus-Gözlükule, Sirkeli Höyük, and Kinet Höyük, dating around 1730–1670 BCE according to ¹⁴C dates. The cause of these destructions, whether military operations or earthquakes, is unclear. It is also uncertain if these destructions correspond to the one detected in Zincirli, dated to around 1650–1600 BCE (Herrmann and Schloen 2021), or the end of Alalah Level VII (Akar, Yener, Bulu, Ingman 2021).

The end of Old Cilician 3 also saw destruction at multiple sites, with ¹⁴C dates varying between 1650 and 1560 BCE. Whether these destructions were due to campaigns by Hattušili I is uncertain (Herrmann and Schloen 2021: 45–46). At Kinet Höyük, this destruction layer was rather associated with earthquake damage (Gates 1999–2000: 80).

These events marked the end of the Old Cilician Period and the beginning of the Middle Cilician Period, characterized by rebellions against Ḫatti and the foundation of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna.

The pottery of this period is particularly important for understanding Plain Cilicia's cultural position. Syro-Cilician Painted Pottery, characterized by dark-coloured paint on a light ground, was found at almost every major site in Cilicia (Kozal 2022: 181–194; Ünlü 2022: 150–153). This pottery style is part of a broader tradition spanning Iran, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Mediterranean, Cyprus, and the Aegean, including e.g. the contemporary Levantine Painted Ware at the Levantine coast and the older Ḫābūr Ware in Upper Mesopotamia (Bagh 2003). Isolated examples of Syro-Cilician pottery have been found in Central Anatolia (Acemhöyük, Kültepe) and Cyprus, representing imports (Bulu 2017: 104–105). In Cilician sites, this pottery, produced locally, forms the standard OCI repertoire alongside form- and fabric-identical unpainted vessels. Petrographic analyses confirm that the production area of this pottery was in Cilicia and northern Syria, especially the Amuq region (Nigro 2002: 312–313; Bulu 2017; Bulu Akar 2021). This aligns with the borders of the ancient kingdom of Yamḥad, with its capital Ḫalab (Aleppo), and Plain Cilicia. Additionally, Cilician sites yielded wares indicating cultural associations with Central Anatolia and overseas connections with Cyprus (Kozal 2013: 215, and 2017: 89–100).

The anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from this period show strong affinities to contemporary Northern Levantine coroplastics (Elsen-Novák and Novák 2020), with no northern influences or local peculiarities identified.

The glyptic of this period show influences from both the Northern Levant and Central Anatolia. Five cylinder seals from Tatarlı Höyük have parallels to Old Syrian style seals from Karahöyük near Konya, Alalaḫ, and Ebla (Girginer and Collon 2014: 63–67, seals A1–A3, A5–A6). A finely elaborated seal (A6) belongs to the stone-cutting school of Yamḥad. A stamp seal resembles pieces from Kültepe (Girginer and Collon 2014: 65, seal A4), similar to a stamp seal from Sirkeli Höyük (Hroudá 1997: 97 with FN 16). Another stamp seal from Tatarlı Höyük refers to Ebla (Girginer and Collon 2014: 67–68, seal A7). The glyptic generally indicates relationships to both the Northern Levant and Central Anatolia.

In contrast, textile production hint at stronger Central Anatolian patterns. Sirkeli Höyük and other Cilician sites contain large quantities of crescent-shaped, often stamped weaving weights made of fired clay with perforations at the ends (Ahrens 2019; Maner 2018: 48–49; Lassen 2013), comparable to those from Kaniš (Kültepe) and Karahöyük. Similar objects are not found in notable quantities in the Northern Levant. Local textile production therefore appears to have been influenced by Anatolian techniques.

Before we interpret the situation, let's closely examine the latest findings from the excavations at Sirkeli Höyük:²

In the aforementioned step trench in Sector A, an anthropomorphic statuette made of highly polished serpentine in the Old Syrian style (fig. 5) was discovered in phase A23 (Elsen-Novák and Novák, in print). Although the piece is only a few centimetres high and

² The following passus on the objects from Sirkeli Höyük and its comparisons is authored by Gabriele Elsen-Novák, whom we like to thank for her contribution.

its extremities were broken off in antiquity, it is clearly a high-quality sculpture with strong affinities to Old Syrian art. The figure wears a short robe with circumferential rows of villi that end at the thighs, leaving the right shoulder exposed. The flat shape of the figure's body, with little pronounced body modelling and a strict posture with forearms presumably stretched out at right angles to the front, shows similarities to votive figures of ancient Syrian art. The cloak, resembling a *kaunakes* of early Syrian and early Dynastic Mesopotamian art, is unusual for this period but is found in a similar form on a seated king statue from Ebla (Matthiae 2013: 378, fig. 200). This piece, like ours, clearly expresses archaizing traits of the late 3rd millennium, which can also be found on other Old Syrian sculptures from Ebla, such as the garment depictions of the seated figures on the cult basins from temples D and B (Matthiae 2013: 384, figs. 212 and 213). A dating of the statuette to the early 2nd millennium BCE is very probable due to the stylistic and iconographic features. This is supported by the find context, dating it to the OCI 1 or 2 period. The proximity of the piece to ancient Syrian pictorial art, as attested above all in Ebla, is remarkable.

On the limestone floor of the younger phase A19, a limestone stele broken into two parts was found with a heavily abraded relief (fig. 6; Elsen-Novák and Novák in print). Using 3D scanning, it was not only documented in three dimensions but also confirmed the presumed figure. A person facing right with a bent left leg and outstretched right leg can be surmised, possibly depicted in a triumphal pose. While the face, probably turned to the right, is barely discernible, the left shoulder and the left arm hanging down in front of the body are relatively clear. In the chest area, a round, plaque-like decorative element of the clothing appears recognizable. In the open space above the figure, there is a groove-like depression at a right angle in the upper left. Furthermore, a slightly raised, almost triangular element can be surmised, which may have belonged to an astral symbol. As far as the iconography and the few details such as the posture, the high cap with a raised peak at the front, and the remains of symbols above the figure allow an assessment, this is a piece strongly influenced by Old Syrian models. A cap with an upturned tip at the front is documented several times in Old Syrian pictorial art, for example on the seated male figures in the main scenes on the cult basins from temples B and D in Ebla (Matthiae 2013: 384, figs. 212 and 213) and on a stele from Akarca near Avanos (Genç 2019: 92, fig. 4). The latter also features astral symbols above the figural scenes. The triumphal pose assumed for our depiction is frequently attested in figures on northern Mesopotamian stelae of the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods, for example in the uppermost register of the stele from Harput (Abay, Demir, and Sevin 2021: 12–13, figs. 16 and 17).

A basalt base in the form of two lions found by Garstang during his work in Sirkeli Höyük in 1937 can now also be assigned to a find context in the area of sector A and, based on stylistic and iconographic characteristics, to the OCI period, showing again an Old Syrian art influence (Kozal, Maloigne, Mönninghoff, and Novák 2022: 126–132).

These three exemplary objects illustrate the influence of Old Syrian art on Cilicia. In contrast, no pictorial works have yet been discovered that show an independent style or one influenced by Anatolia. It can therefore be stated that, in addition to pottery, terracotta figurines, and glyptic, the pictorial art also points to close cultural connections between Cilicia in the Old Cilician Period and the northern Syrian region, especially the area of the kingdom of Yamḥad. This is further supported by a small, inscribed prism confiscated by the Adana

Museum in the Toprakkale region of eastern Cilicia, which contains a writing exercise in the Old Babylonian style, the ‘Syllabic Alphabet A’ (Akdoğan, Ünlü, and Weeden 2022).

From these findings, two cautious conclusions can be drawn:

First, that Cilicia was involved in a trade network that connected the Northern Levant with Anatolia on one hand and Cyprus on the other. This network could have been organized and run by either Mari or Yamḥad and competed with the Assyrian network to its north (Palmisano 2018; Massa and Palmisano 2018; Elsen-Novák and Novák 2020).

Second, that Cilicia could have temporarily belonged to or was dependent on the kingdom of Yamḥad. This could explain the strong Northern Levantine influence attested in the material culture of Cilicia. It may also explain the lack of mention of Cilician toponyms in the Mesopotamian archives. As part of the Kingdom of Yamḥad, it did not appear in international correspondence, as it was not perceived as a separate entity. However, it cannot be ruled out that toponyms not yet localised and known from the textual sources refer to places in Cilicia, as could be the case for Armi from the Ebla texts (see above).

Based on this assumption, it would not be surprising that the religious cults later adopted by the Hittites from Kizzuwatna include the Hurrianized version of at least parts of the Aleppinean pantheon, particularly the cult of Teššup of Ḥalab and his spouse Ḥebat (Hutter 2021: 168–171; Trameri 2024: 469–479). As Manfred Hutter demonstrated, these gods represented a more recent cult stratum in Kizzuwatna, which superimposed an older one (Hutter *infra*). This must have happened before the adaptation of the Kizzuwatna cults by the Hittites and thus already during the Old Cilician Period.

4. KIZZUWATNA: THE MIDDLE CILICIAN PERIOD

4.1. *Middle Cilician 1: From Hittite Domination to Rebellions*

Middle Cilician 1 marks a new beginning following the destruction phases of the OCI 3 settlements. The precise date of these destructions is pending the results of upcoming C14 sample analyses and it remains thus for the moment uncertain whether they are linked to Ḥattušili’s campaigns against Yamḥad. Hittite campaigns to Cilicia are not attested in the inscriptions for this period but the later tradition shows that the region must have been under Hittite control, at least temporarily, in the time before Ammuna (Klengel 1999: 74). Thus, it seems likely that either Ḥattušili I or his son Muršili I invaded and occupied the country (but see more cautious Trameri 2024).

This phase, between the destruction of the OCI 3 layers and the establishment of the independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna under Išpudaḥšu, a contemporary of Hittite King Telipinu (Klengel 1999: 81; Trameri 2024: 310), is labelled here as Middle Cilicia (MCI) 1. It aligns with parts of the Old Hittite Kingdom and the terminal Middle Bronze Age II.³ The political situation remains unclear, but as rebellions began in various cities

³ Please note that we follow here Schachner 2012 in ascribing the Hittite Old Kingdom to the Middle Bronze Age II, which allows a better synchronisation of the Bronze Age terminologies of Central Anatolia and Northern Levant.

such as Adaniya, a fragmentation into smaller entities cannot be excluded. However, Adaniya might also represent the entire Plain Cilicia in this context, as suggested by the Šunnaššura treaty (Novák and Rutishauser 2012, but see a different view by Trameri 2024: 207).

Pottery from Middle Cilician 1 at sites such as Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, Kinet Höyük, Tarsus-Gözlükule, and Mersin-Yumuktepe exhibits distinct new characteristics, with Plain Ware emerging as the dominant style. This includes deep bowls and jars, with carinated shapes typical of this period. In contrast to the Old Cilician Period, where drinking vessels included goblets, conical cups, and hemispherical one-handled cups, Middle Cilician 1 at Sirkeli introduced handleless hemispherical bowls. Painted decoration typical of the OCI period, mainly represented by Syro-Cilician Wares, disappears abruptly in Middle Cilician 1 at Sirkeli Höyük and Kinet Höyük. However, at Tarsus-Gözlükule, this type of decoration continues in a much-reduced number into the ‘Late Bronze I’ (MCI 2–3) levels (Ünlü 2022: 153). This variation might reflect the politically independent status of small entities, leading to different pottery traits that blend old and new aspects in various ways.

The brief period MCI 1 saw the construction of monumental buildings at several sites in the eastern part of Plain Cilicia. In Sirkeli Höyük, two buildings, E1 in the eastern and A1 in the western part of the ‘Outer Citadel’ (see Novák 2020 on the topography), were constructed at that time. While the function of building A1, with its stone slab floors and highly preserved stone walls, remains unclear despite its monumental character (Ahrens, Langenegger and Yıldız in: Novák, Kozal and Yaşın 2019: 147–166), building E1 (fig. 7) suggests a function as a temple, perhaps a spring sanctuary (Bätscher et al. 2025). This building is remarkable for its incorporation of natural rock into its architecture, similar to Hittite practices. Building A in Tatarlı Höyük, interpreted as a temple by the excavators (Girginer and Collon 2014: 59), seems to have been built around the same time or slightly earlier according to radiocarbon dates (Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 246). This building, situated at the eastern fringe of the citadel mound, consists of an agglutination of rectangular rooms of approximately equal size and shows an irregular outer outline. With its two exposed annex rooms in the east, it is somewhat reminiscent of Hittite temples, whose cellae protrude from the rectangular outline of the building in a similar shape (see Müller-Karpe 2013). In Kinet Höyük, a building from Level 15C has been reconstructed as an early example of a *Hilāni*, a particular architectural form known from Bronze Age examples in the Amuq and Islahiya regions (Jean 2021). Like Buildings A1 and E1 in Sirkeli and Building A in Tatarlı, this ‘Hilāni’ is also located at the very edge of the citadel.

The cultural break between OCI 3 and MCI 1, marked by destruction layers and evident in the ceramics, was accompanied by the foundation of monumental buildings, at least in the eastern part of the region. Unfortunately, it is unclear if similar developments occurred at other sites in the western part of Plain Cilicia. It is possible that the foundation of monumental buildings with partly Anatolian elements only in the east, and the more abrupt replacement of painted wares with plain wares with Central Anatolian affinities than in the west of the region at the same time indicate different cultural and political situations in the two parts of Plain Cilicia.

The revolt against Hittite supremacy, which marks the transition to the MCI 2 period, originated in Adaniya, suggesting that Adaniya may have been not only the source of the striving for independence but also the political (re)unification of the entire country as Kizzuwatna. However, this remains speculative at present.

4.2. *Middle Cilician 2–3: The Kingdom of Kizzuwatna*

The foundation of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna marks a shift towards centralization, although this is not easy to discern. In mentions of Kizzuwatna, almost all of which are external sources, the land appears as a political unit under the changing names ‘Land of the city of Adaniya’ or ‘Land of the city of Kizzuwatna [Kummanni]’. The most important cities included Adaniya (= Adana-Tepebağ), Tarša (= Tarsus-Gözlükule), Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, and Lawazantiya (Hawkins and Weeden 2017). While the first two were located in the western part of Plain Cilicia, the latter two can be placed in the eastern part, even if their precise locations have not yet been determined. Nevertheless, there are some arguments for equating them with Sirkeli Höyük and Tatarlı Höyük, respectively (Forlanini 2013; Novák and Rutishauser 2017).

The monumental buildings in Sirkeli Höyük (Buildings A1 and E1) and in Tatarlı Höyük (Building A) of the MCI 1 period continued to be in use throughout the MCI 2 and 3 periods. Additionally, domestic architecture is known from several other sites like Soli Höyük, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Adana-Tepebağ, Kinet Höyük, and others. Compared to the MCI 1 period, no significant change in the architecture of Cilicia can be observed, indicating continuity.

The distinction between the periods MCI 2 and MCI 3 is based on historical and political considerations which, according to current research, have not been significantly reflected in the archaeological material. MCI 2 refers to the period of Kizzuwatna’s complete independence, while MCI 3 is characterized by a certain political dependence on the Mittani Empire, as attested for the period immediately predating the treaty between Tudḫaliya I of Ḫatti and Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna (Trameri 2024).

No Mittanian influence on the material culture of Kizzuwatna has yet been recognized. This is not surprising given the lack of centralized and standardized Mittanian art and pottery production. Even the characteristic Nuzi/Atchana ware, frequent in Alalah, has not been attested in Cilicia. Only a few examples of glyptics show Mittani affiliations: Two cylinder seals, one from Tarsus (Goldman 1956: 235–236) and the other from Tatarlı (Girginer and Collon 2014: 68, seal A8), exhibit Mittanian common style, and one seal from Kinet Höyük is cut in the Mittani elaborate style (Trameri in print). Other objects and small findings from this period provide evidence for Kizzuwatna’s involvement in an interregional exchange system: Miniature ingots and weighing pans from Sirkeli, for example, find close comparisons in Cyprus and on the shipwreck of Uluburun (Borkowski, Gäumann and Kreutz in: Novák, Kozal and Yaşin 2019: 167–168), and the head of a composite figurine from Sirkeli shows Levantine affiliations (Elsen-Novák and Novák in print).

The pottery became more unified under the dominance of Plain Ware. Deep vessel shapes were replaced by shallow plates over time. A distinctive ware of MCI 2 is the wheel-made

Black Impressed Ware, characterized by a black slip and incised/impressed decoration with white lime filling. The production centre of this ware is not known, but it appears both in Cilicia and in the ‘Amuq. In Alalah, this ware is found in Levels VI–IV and was most frequent in Level V (Gates 1981: 12). In the excavations at Tarsus-Gözlükule, it has been encountered in levels attributed to Late Bronze Age I (Goldman 1956: 185–186), as it is in Sirkeli (Kozal 2013: 220). Cypriot imports are well attested in many Cilician sites like e.g. Soli Höyük (Yağcı 2003), Adana-Tepebağ (Kozal and Yaşın 2023), Sirkeli Höyük (Kozal 2013: 219) and Kinet Höyük (Gates 2006: 299–300).

4.3. *Middle Cilician 4: The Hittite Province of Kizzuwatna*

The last phase of the Middle Cilician period, which coincides with the Late Bronze Age II in the Northern Levant and the Hittite Imperial Period in Central Anatolia, marks the incorporation of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite Empire. This occurred between the reigns of Tudḫaliya I and Suppiluliuma I. The end of this period is characterized by destruction layers at almost all sites in Cilicia, which can be dated to shortly after 1200 BCE. These destruction layers correlate with the disintegration of the Hittite Empire, although they did not result in the abandonment of the major sites. The Middle Cilician (MCI) period is well documented archaeologically.

While Building A in Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 220 and 246, fig. 19) and Buildings A1 and E1 in Sirkeli Höyük remained in use, albeit with modified layouts, a new monumental building, presumably a temple with a Hittite design (fig. 8), was founded in Tarsus-Gözlükule in Section A (Goldman 1956: 49–50; Müller-Karpe 2013: 336). Section B at the same site revealed a monumental administrative building, the ‘East House’ (Goldman 1956: 51–56). A similar building was excavated in Soli Höyük (Yağcı 2008: 800). In contrast, in Kinet Höyük the monumental building from the previous period (Level 15) was replaced by domestic architecture (Gates 2006: 300). A fortification wall partially exposed in Soli Höyük, believed to date earlier than the Hittite Imperial Period, shows some Central Anatolian influence (Yağcı 2008: 800). The buildings demonstrate ongoing Hittite influence on Cilician architecture during this period.

Hittite seals of high officials have been found at many sites in Kizzuwatna, such as Soli Höyük (Yağcı 2008 and Yağcı in Cilician Chronology Group 2017: 155), Tarsus-Gözlükule (Gelb in Goldman 1956: 242–254), Adana-Tepebağ (Payne and Yaşın, in preparation), and Tatarlı Höyük (Doğan-Alparslan and Girginer 2021). Rock reliefs were created in Hemite and Sirkeli Höyük: The relief at HEMİTE near Tatarlı Höyük depicts a high dignitary of the Hittite Empire (Ehringhaus 2005: 107–111), while three images of Hittite kings were placed on the rock below building E1 in Sirkeli Höyük, SİRKEĻİ 1–3 (Bätscher et al. 2025). Along with the reliefs in HANYERİ, İMAMKULU, TAŞCI, and FRAKTIN, they mark an important route from Plain Cilicia to the Hittite heartland (Kozal 2018; Novák and Kozal in Bätscher et al. 2025). SİRKEĻİ 1, which depicts Muwatalli II, plays a significant role in the so-called ‘monumental turn’ of Hittite art and hieroglyphic writing (Novák and Payne 2024). In this context, Cilicia served as an intermediary between Mesopotamia and Egypt, where monumentality in art and writing had a long tradition, and Anatolia.

The pottery of MCI 4 corresponds to levels VI-V at Yumuktepe, partially to the LB IIa level at Gözlükule, and partially to Periods 14–13.1 at Kinet Höyük. Although this phase exhibits traits continuing from the MCI 2–3 periods, MCI 4 is notable for the pronounced influence of Hittite pottery styles. Imported pottery includes Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware from Rough Cilicia, Late Cypriot II imports, and transport jars from the Levant (Cilician Chronology Group 2017 with further literature). Despite this, painted wares continued to be produced on a small scale (Ünlü 2022: 154, fig. 7).

Destruction layers around 1190 BCE mark the end of the MCI 4 period and the entire Bronze Age. All monumental buildings were abandoned, indicating a collapse of institutional structures. However, most sites were not completely abandoned but continued to be inhabited on a modest scale. Silos and storage pits were found at various sites. The ceramic production of the MCI 4 period continued, at least in part, into the Neo Cilician 1 (NCI 1) period before being replaced by a resurgence of painted wares (Ünlü 2022: 155–156). For this reason, in the local periodizations of Tarsus-Gözlükule and Kinet Höyük, the NCI 1 period is still attributed to the Late Bronze Age (Lehmann 2017: 236–237; Ünlü 2022: 150, Tab. 1). However, we consider the break caused by the abandonment of state institutions to be more significant than the survival of some ceramic traditions, which is why we place the caesura between MCI and NCI at around 1190 BCE. The chapter of Kizzuwatna was closed, and another began: The successor kingdom of Hiyawa/Qawa/Qu'e was still to come.

5. CONCLUSION

This brief survey of the current state of the archaeology of Kizzuwatna demonstrates that our knowledge has grown enormously over the last two decades. However, many questions remain unanswered. For example, no royal palace has yet been uncovered to provide information about its architectural design and inventories, or even about the location of the actual seat of the king of Kizzuwatna: was it in the city of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, which gave the country its name, or in Adana, used as a synonym for the country at least in the Šunaššura treaty and the political and economic centre of Cilicia for most of its history? Additionally, no temple can yet be definitively assigned to a deity, and no residential area has been excavated extensively enough to draw conclusions about segregation patterns. These gaps in our knowledge highlight the need for further research.

On the other hand, archaeozoological, archaeobotanical, archaeometallurgical, and other scientific analyses have provided valuable information on subsistence strategies and production techniques, as well as proxies for reconstructing climate development. Due to space limitations, we have not delved into these points here, but they will be accessible and evaluated in the forthcoming publications of the archaeological missions.

The lack of cuneiform tablet archives from the Bronze Age remains a mystery, despite intensive excavation efforts at all major archaeological sites. While it is plausible that Kizzuwatna rituals were transmitted orally and only documented on tablets by the Hittites during the Hittite Imperial period, and the discovery of clay bullae might indicate the using perishable materials such as wooden tablets at least during the period MCI 4, this

does not fully explain the situation. There is no doubt that cuneiform writing was known and used in Cilicia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by findings such as the aforementioned prism and the treaties of Kizzuwatna with Alalah and Hatti. Was the use of cuneiform restricted to a few state institutions that have not yet been discovered due to sheer bad luck? Or is the nature of the soil in Cilicia responsible for the poor preservation of unfired clay tablets, like the often completely dissolved state of mud bricks? Perhaps future discoveries will shed light on this question.

Ultimately, archaeology often surprises us with new insights. Therefore, let us hope for good luck for the ongoing excavations.

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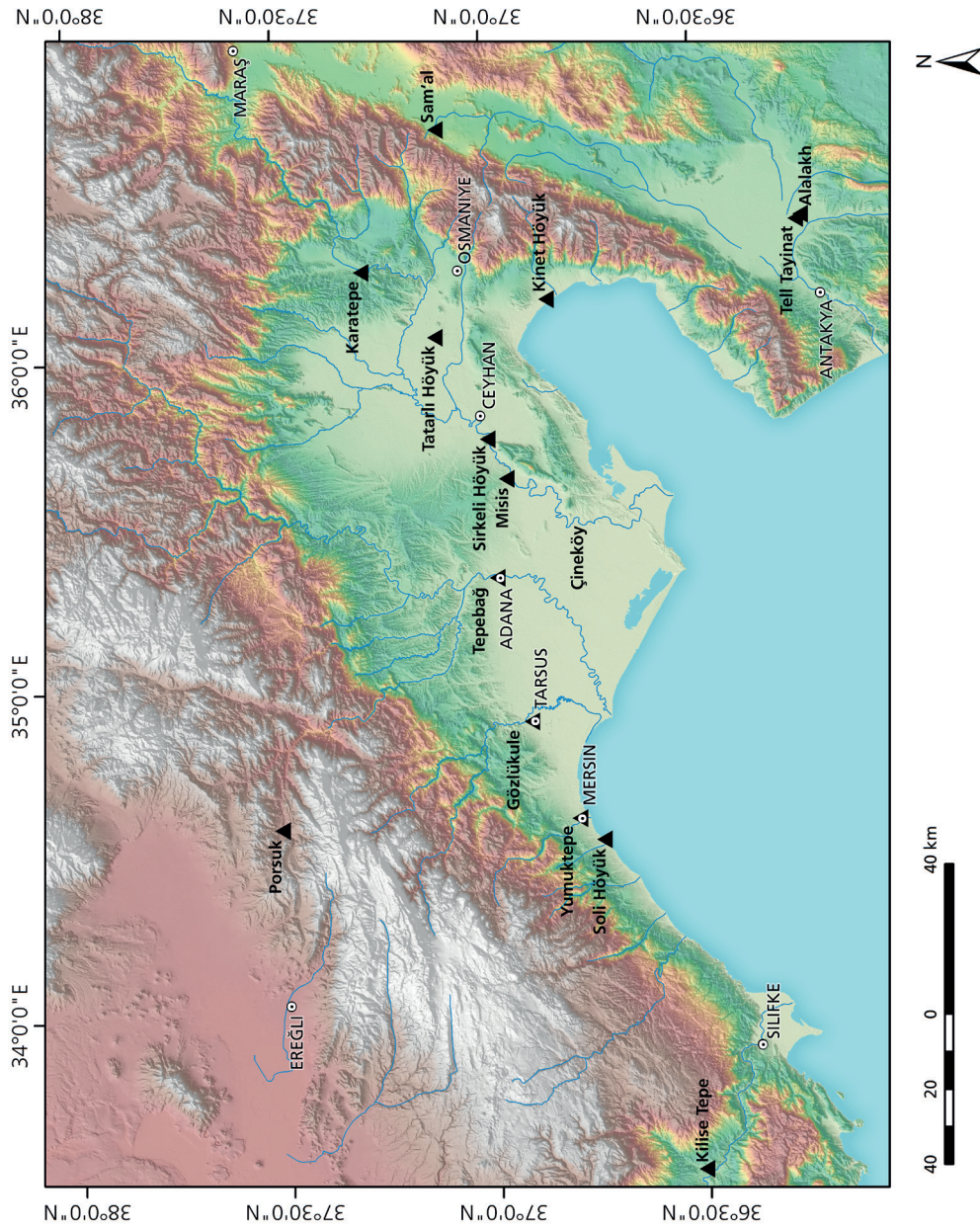


Fig. 1: Map of Plain Cilicia with main sites (© Susanne Rurishauser, Bern University).

Period	Dates (LC)	Conventional	Dates (MC)	Kilise Tepe	Mersin-Soli Höyük	Mersin-Yumuk-tepe	Tarsus-Gözlükule	Adana-Tepebağ	Misis Höyük	Sirkeli Höyük	Tatarlı Höyük	Kinet Höyük				
ECI 1	3000-2900	EB I	3100-2900			Hiatus (3800-2800)	Goldman EB Ia			Sherds						
ECI 2	2900-2600	EB II	2900-2700			XIII-XII	Goldman EB Ib						29-25			
ECI 3	2600-2420	EB III	2700-2500	V			Goldman EB II						24			
ECI 4	2420-2250	EB IVa	2500-2300					Goldman EB IIIa			Z XI			23-22		
ECI 5	2250-2050	EB IVb	2300-2000					Goldman EB IIIb							21-19	
OCI 1	2050-1950	MB I	2000-1800	IV			XI	MB I (Slane A.I-A.III)			Z X / P VII	V	?			
OCI 2	1950-1700															
OCI 3	1700-1560	MB II	1800-1640	III		X	MB II (Goldman LB I / Slane A.IV)			Z IX / P VI	IVb	15				
MCI 1	1560-1522							1640-1595					IX			
MCI 2	1522-1420	LB I	1595-1400			VIII-VII (old excavations) / IX (southern trench)		LB I (Slane A.V-A.VI)								
MCI 3	1420-1350				VI.2											
MCI 4	1350-1190	LB II	1400-1190			VI		LB IIa (Slane A.VII/VII)	VI (10)					Z VIII / P VI		
NCI 1	1190-1130	LB III / IA Ia	1190-1130	II	VI.1	Hiatus?	LB IIb (Slane A.IX/B.IX)	V (9)		↑		13.2				
NCI 2	1130-950	IA Ib	1130-850											Early IA	V (8)	
NCI 3	950-720	IA II	850-700	V	Hiatus	IV	Middle IA	V (7)	13-10	Z V, U V-III, O IV	IIlb1	11(7), 10-9				
NCI 4	720-609													700-520		
NCI 5	609-539	IA III	520-330	IV	III	III	Late IA a/b			Z III, P III, U II		7-6				
NCI 6	539-330															
LCI 1	330-50	Hellenistic	330-50	I	II				9	Z II, P II, O III	IIb	3A-2				

Fig. 2: Table with Cilician Chronology (from Cilician Chronology Group 2017).

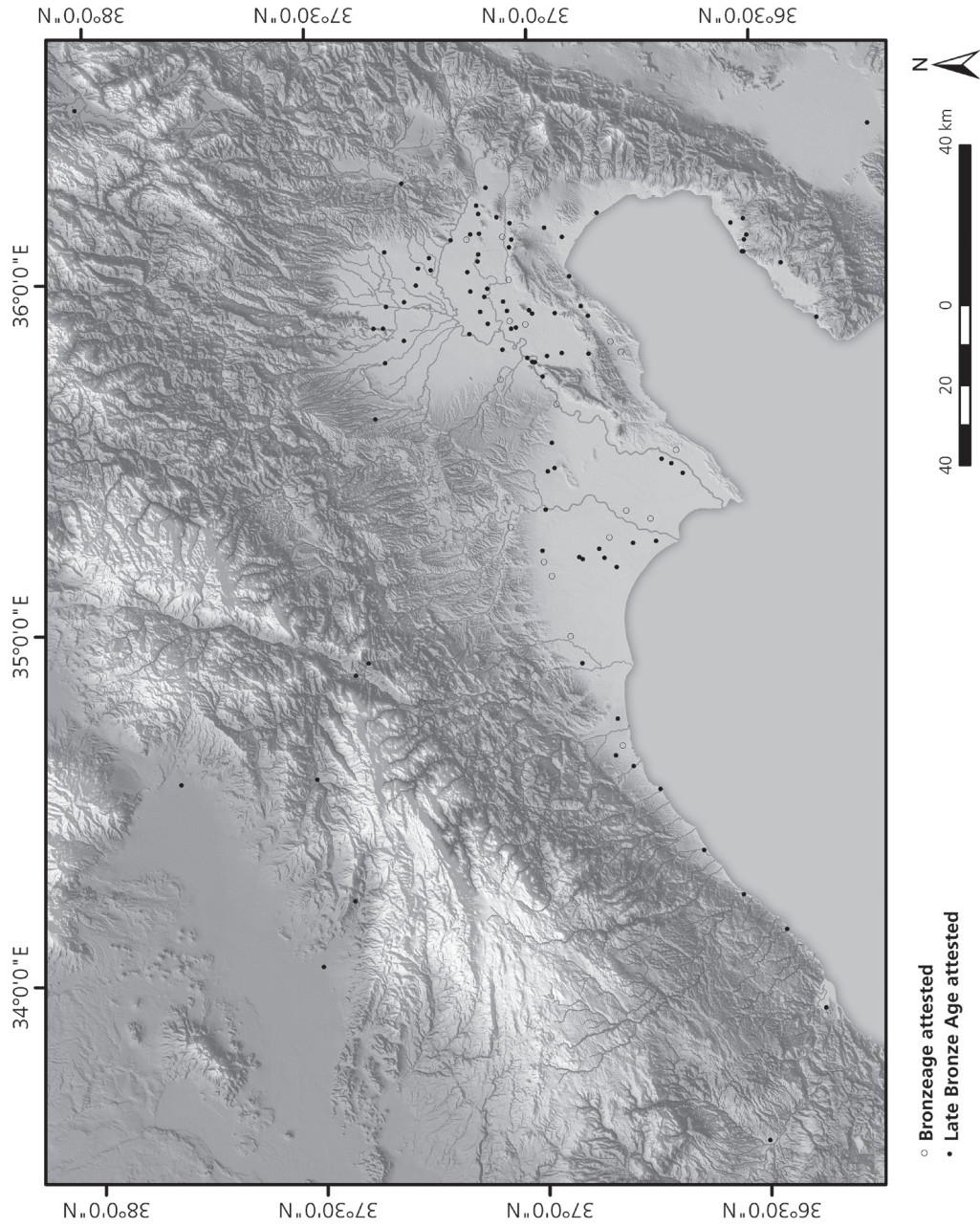


Fig. 3: Map of Plain Cilicia with site distribution in the MCI period (© Susanne Rutishauser, Bern University).

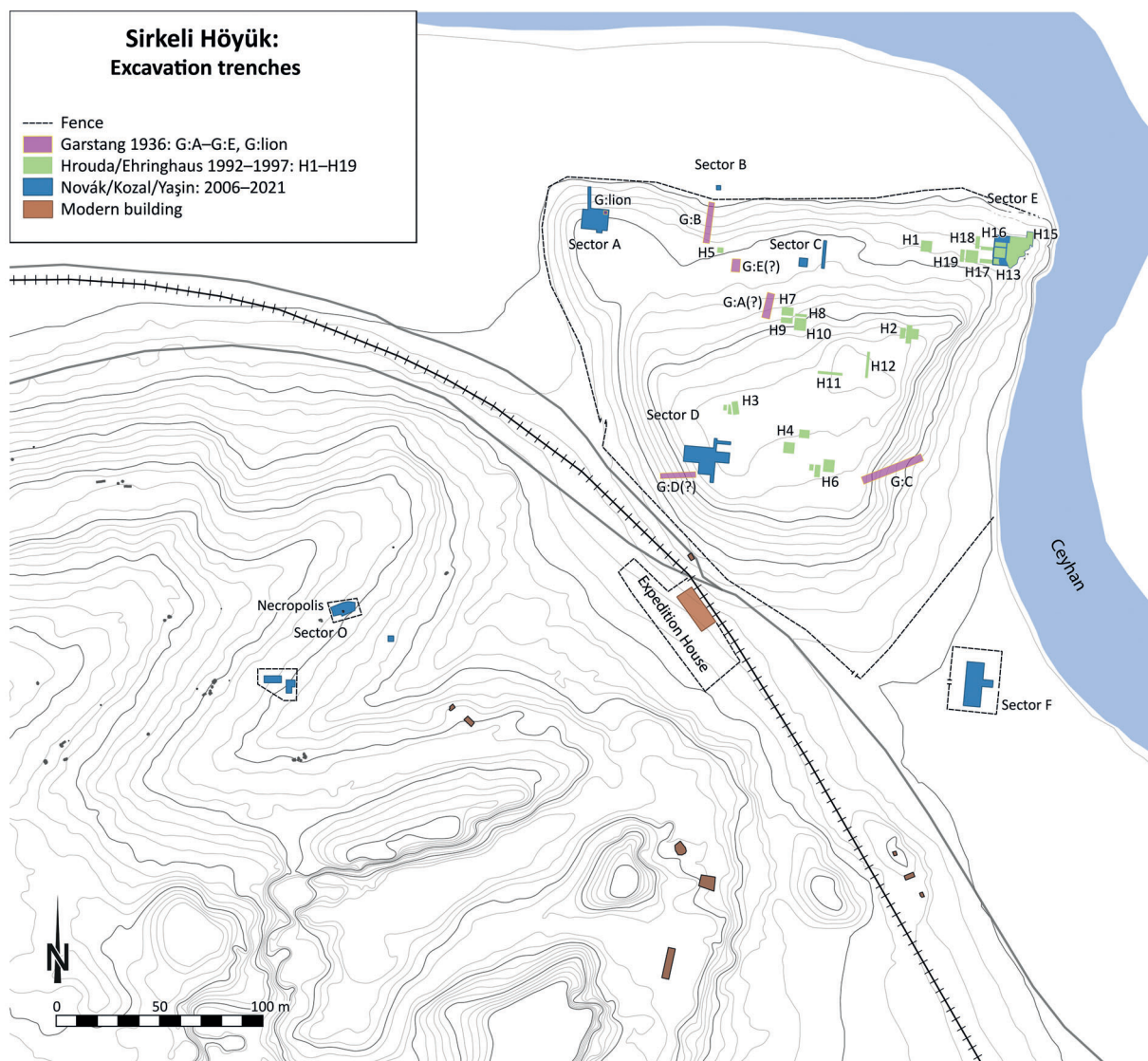


Fig. 4: Plan of Sirkeli Höyük with excavation sectors
(© Sirkeli Höyük Project, Bern University).

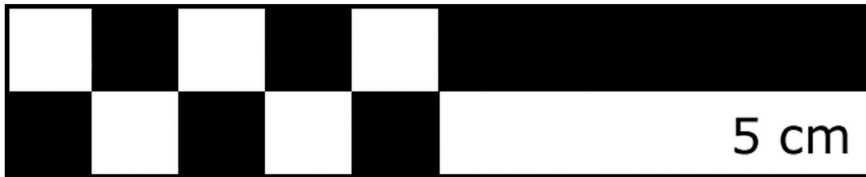


Fig. 5: OCI figurine from Sirkeli Höyük
(© Sirkeli Höyük Project, Bern University, photo by Laura Simons).



Fig. 6: OCI stele from Sirkeli Höyük
(© Sirkeli Höyük Project, Bern University).

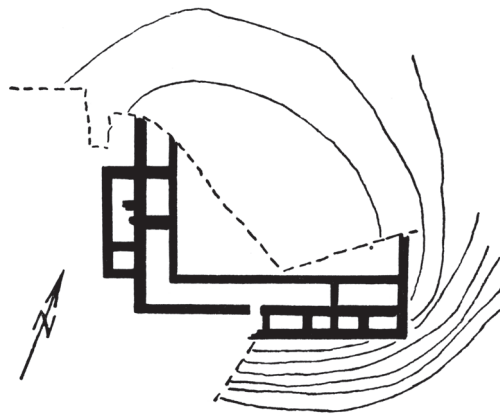


Fig. 8: 'Hittite temple' in Tarsus-Gözlükule, MCI 4
(from Goldman 1956, Pl. 2).

PLACES AND SPACES OF KIZZUWATNA

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Abstract

To date, dozens of toponyms belonging to or connected with Kizzuwatna have been identified in Hittite and other written sources. The genres of these texts vary, ranging from political treaties, through border descriptions, legal disputes, to magic rituals and festival instructions. This paper presents an up-to-date view on the geographical information on Kizzuwatna that can be gleaned from these texts. In the first part, it provides a systematic analysis of the relation between the toponyms Kizzuwatna and Kummanni, commonly understood as referring to the same place. The investigation demonstrates differences in the distribution of both names with some historical and cultural implications. In the second part, the paper offers an overview of the places located in Kizzuwatna, with the distinction between those forming its core and those forming its frontier regions.

INTRODUCTION

The over century-long history of research on Kizzuwatna's geography is a fine example of how a close reading of primary sources can contribute to putting places on the map. After initial attempts by various scholars to place Kizzuwatna in the Pontus, Albrecht Goetze (1940) proposed locating this ancient land in the Mediterranean area instead.¹ In his seminal study, Goetze collected and analysed all the relevant cuneiform texts on the subject available at that time, and persuasively argued that Kizzuwatna should be roughly identified with Cilicia. This allowed later generations of scholars to move on from looking for Kizzuwatna itself and to begin to look for the cities of Kizzuwatna. While in case of Adaniya and Tarša it quickly became clear that their ancient names can still be seen in the modern names of Adana and Tarsus respectively, it also soon became apparent that locating other centres, e.g., Kummanni, Lawazantiya or Arušna, would not be as easy. Moreover, it was recognised that certain names (Lawazantiya, and likely Wašukanni) might refer to two different places. Over the years, a variety of attempts have been made to overcome these hurdles and to identify numerous places of Kizzuwatna, or at least try to narrow down the number of possible locations. The latter goal was successfully reached, when – once again through a close study of texts, and this time supported by archaeological data,

¹ Goetze was not the first to propose the southern location, but the first to provide solid arguments in its favour. For the early literature on the geographical research on Kizzuwatna see Goetze 1940: 1 with n. 1–3.

Marie Claude Trémouille demonstrated how the key settlements of Kizzuwatna should be looked for along one road traversing Cilicia.²

Yet the same history of research on Kizzuwatna's geography is also a good example of the limits of the philological method. The material at our disposal provides us with significantly more names than those few mentioned above, but for most the evidence is either scarce or inconclusive. It is only with the help of archaeology and the discovery of new texts at excavation sites within Cilicia (which until now has proved unsuccessful) that one can hope for any unequivocal evidence.³

With both the advantages and limits of the text-analysis in mind, this paper provides an update on what we know about the toponyms of and related to Kizzuwatna, with the information drawn predominantly from the Hittite tablet collections. It will first address a problem that has been long known, but until recently treated only in passing, namely the relation between the toponyms Kizzuwatna and Kummanni. Subsequently, an overview of the sources for the historical geography of Kizzuwatna will be presented.

1. KIZZUWATNA / KUMMANNI⁴

The toponym Kizzuwatna is attested 249 times in the Hittite sources,⁵ making it the 9th best attested toponym in the Hittite corpus. There is, however, common agreement, based on abundant evidence, that the name Kummanni (ca. 150 attestations) refers to the same place. This evidence includes the interchangeability of the names in some duplicates,⁶ or in texts referring to the same events.⁷ A telling example is also the peculiar confusion of a Hittite scribe of KUB 40.53 rev. 5' + KBo 50.38 IV 14', who could not decide which toponym to use and ended up mixing both when he wrote ^{D10} URU *gaz-ma-an-ni*.⁸ The combined instances of Kizzuwatna and Kummanni sum up to over 400 attestations, which moves the toponyms up to the 5th spot in the list of the best attested toponyms in the Hittite sources, only after (1) Ḫatti/Ḫattuša (with ca. 2100 + ca. 700 = ca. 2800 attestations); (2) Arinna (ca. 785); (3) Nerik (ca. 675); and (4) Zippalanda (ca. 535), i.e. all four of the "cities of the gods". One should note that the high numbers for nos. 2–4 are dictated by the sole fact that most of their attestations refer not to the cities as geographic locations, but to the deities identified by those religious centres (e.g., the Sungoddess of Arinna, the

² Trémouille 2001.

³ The only cuneiform text found in the region, namely the land grant found at Tarsus, most likely originated in Ḫattuša and was brought to Kizzuwatna, as recently shown by Trameri (2023).

⁴ A detailed study on this subject has been recently offered by Shelestin (2023). See also Kümmel 1976–1980 and Trémouille 1997: 57–59.

⁵ The quantitative data (numbers of attestations) is taken from the Hittite Toponyms database (hethiter.net/HiTop), entry on 05.10.2023.

⁶ See, e.g., the Ritual of Paliya (CTH 475), where Paliya is called the "king of Kizzuwatna" or "the king of Kummanni".

⁷ E.g., in the Annals of Muršili II, see, e.g., Trémouille 1997, 29.

⁸ Contrary to Burgin 2022: 90, the sign GAZ in KUB 26.67 ii 6' (CTH 244; URUGAZ-zu-wa-a[t-]) and in KUB 47.64 ii 28 (CTH 712; URUGAZ-zu-wa-a[t-n]a) is to be read *gaz* and not *kiz*, as shown by the Hurrian text from Kayalıpınar DAAM 1.11 rev. 44' (CTH 791; URUGa-az-zu-wa-ta-a[n-]) and 46' (URUGa-az-zu-wa-ta-ni-i[t]-^rta').

Stormgod of Nerik and his counterpart of Zippalanda). Such instances take up approximately two thirds of all the mentions of those toponyms in texts.⁹ Attestations of Kizzuwatna and Kummanni show a different type of distribution, however, being less concentrated on one type of evidence, and much more spread across the entire spectrum of roles those toponyms play in the texts. Thus, the abundance of evidence of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni in the Hittite tablets underscores not only the importance of its deities, but also its relevance for the interests of the Hittite state.

1.1. *Analysis*

While the names Kizzuwatna and Kummanni quite often refer to the same place, and one is not so far off the mark if one treats them together, the exact nature of this identification is complex. In order to elucidate the relation between the two toponyms, their distribution was analysed according to various criteria: function (context), text-genre, geographic identification, dating and language (of the text), as well as spelling variants.

1.1.1. Function (Context)

A cursory look at the context in which both toponyms appear (see Table 1) demonstrates that the name Kummanni is more frequently applied as a designation of a deity,¹⁰ whereas Kizzuwatna is used to indicate the provenience of an individual or an object. Both toponyms are quite often used in a strictly geographic sense, meaning they provide the setting of an event or an action, or the destination or the point of departure of a journey.

Function (Context)	Kizzuwatna (ca. 250 instances)	Kummanni (ca. 150 instances)
Geographic	ca. 100 (ca. 40%)	ca. 50 (ca. 33%)
Designation of a deity (e.g., ^D 10 of K.)	47 (19%)	55 (37%)
Designation of an individual or a group of people (king, ritual practitioner, etc.)	45 (18%)	15 (6%)
Designation of an object (tablets, metal objects, etc.)	26 (10%)	—
Broken	ca. 30	ca. 20

Table 1. Functional distribution of the attestations of Kizzuwatna and Kummanni.

⁹ To some degree this is also the case for Ḫatti, since this toponym is used to identify the deities of Ḫattuša (see Kryszewski 2017), but the huge number of attestations is mainly caused by the name being used to indicate both the capital and the entire state.

¹⁰ An analysis of individual deities designated by both toponyms brings hardly any conclusive results (differently Shelestin 2023: 347f.). The divine names appearing with the toponyms are: Ḫebat (15 attestations with Kizzuwatna vs. 15 with Kummanni); Stormgod (written decisively more often as ^D10 than ^P1ŠKUR: 14 att. with Kizz. vs. 18 att. with Kumm.); ZABABA (2 att. with Kizz.); Kaliyara/i (2 att. with Kizz.); IŠTAR (1 att. with Kizz. vs. 2 att. with Kumm.); NIN.GAL (2 att. with Kumm.); Išhara (1 att. with Kumm.); general designation “deities of” (DINGIR^{MES}: 8 att. with Kizz. vs. 7 att. with Kumm.).

1.1.2. Text-Genre, Dating and Geographic Identification

The impression of Kummanni having a stronger religious connotation than Kizzuwatna gains ground when one takes into consideration the genre of the text (see Table 2). Kummanni may be attested in many different historical texts (14 different compositions), but it is a rather unimpressive presence (17 attestations in total), and limited mostly to treaties mentioning the deities of Kummanni. Kizzuwatna, on the other hand, appears in historical texts frequently both in its geographic role as well as a designation of a deity. Importantly, Kizzuwatna seems to be the only of the two to be used in the sense of an independent political entity.¹¹

Text-Genre	Kizzuwatna (ca. 250 instances)	Kummanni (ca. 150 instances)
Historical Texts (CTH 1–215)	23/108 (12 references to deities)	14/17 (10 references to deities)
Administrative Texts (CTH 221–275)	3/5	3/5
Catalogues (CTH 276–283)	3/6	3/6
Legal Texts (CTH 291–298)	1/1	1/1
Scholarly Literature (CTH 299–320)	—	—
Mythology (CTH 321–370)	—	—
Hymns and Prayers (CTH 371–389)	2/3	4/12
Magic Rituals (CTH 390–500)	10/52	11/24
Inventories (CTH 501–530)	—	—
Divination (CTH 531–590)	5/9	11/69
Festival Texts (CTH 591–724)	10/58	8/15
Texts in Other Languages (CTH 735–791)	5/11	—
Sumerian and Akkadian Literature (CTH 792–819)	—	1/2
Other Texts (CTH 820+)	2/3	3/7

Table 2. Attestations of Kizzuwatna and Kummanni according to text-genre.

The number before the slash indicates the number of different compositions (CTH numbers), while the number after the slash indicates the number of attestations.

As observed by J. Börker-Klähn,¹² the divine lists in Hittite treaties concluded until Šuppiluliuma I refer only to Kizzuwatna, while those from the reigns of Muṣili, Muwatalli and Ḫattušili consistently shifted to Kummani. It is perhaps not accidental then, that the

¹¹ The only exception to the latter statement is possibly KBo 28.138 (CTH 819), a tiny fragment written in Akkadian, which might be a historical text and which mentions “the king of Kummanni” (obv. 1).

¹² Börker-Klähn 1996: 72–75.

peculiar mistake of mixing the two toponyms in KUB 40.53+ mentioned above comes from such a divine list.¹³

If one follows this thread and combines it with the dating of the texts, as well as with the geographic identification of the toponyms, further interesting results come to light. Whereas almost half of the attestations of Kizzuwatna are pre-NS, instances of Kummanni are, with one exception, all post-MS.¹⁴ Of course, Kummanni does appear in texts relating events from the early history of the Hittite kingdom, but it is always mentioned only as a city (^{URU}*kummanni*), never as the land (KUR (^{URU})*kummanni*). Indeed, until the reign of Muršili II no clear evidence of the “land of Kummanni” is available.¹⁵ Conversely, with the exception of one instance in the Bronze Tablet,¹⁶ no treaty or historical narrative after Šuppiliuma I mentions “the land of Kizzuwatna” (KUR (^{URU})*kizzuwatna*).¹⁷

This shift from *Kizzuwatna* to *Kummanni* to indicate the region of Cilicia in the Hittite texts under Muršili II can hardly be accidental. The Edict of Šuppiliuma I establishing his son Telipinu as “the Priest” of Kizzuwatna, and *de facto* its ruler, is the last royal document known to us that regulates the region’s status. Not only is Muršili II the first king under whose reign no treaty or edict concerning the Hittite rule over Kizzuwatna was produced. He is also the first to discard – when referring to the region – the name *Kizzuwatna* altogether, a toponym obviously charged with political associations, and to substitute it with *Kummanni*, a name which brought about religious but not political connotations. This goes very well with the observations of Bilgin and Trameri that “after the northern Syrian territories had been secured, Kizzuwatna lost its strategic status as an appanage kingdom and that it had then been brought under the direct rule of Ḫattuša.”¹⁸

¹³ Note, however, the interesting case of the divine lists of the Tarḫuntašša treaties: The Ulmi-Tešsub Treaty has the Stormgod of Kummanni but not Kizzuwatna, while the Bronze Tablet uses the name Kizzuwatna, but not Kummanni.

¹⁴ The only MS text mentioning Kummanni is one of the fragments of the Ritual of Maštigga (KBo 44.17 iv 16’), and one which seems to show late MS sign forms.

¹⁵ There are two mentions of KUR (^{URU})*kummanni* that have been attributed to texts earlier than Muršili II. The first is found in KUB 31.122 i 2 + FHL 42 2 (CTH 211), a text authored by a king Tudḫaliya which deals with cult restorations. As argued by Cammarosano (2013: 86f.) the paleography and the spelling points to an early date (Tudḫaliya I/II; note that in Cammarosano’s edition the [KU]R sign is missing). However, apart from “[the lan]d of Kummanni”, we find also “the land of Zunnahara” (known to be a part of Kizzuwatna), and since the text is administrative in nature, it might well be that the KUR here means “province” or “district”, not “state”.

The second fragment is KBo 27.6 (Kummanni mentioned in line 2’), identified as belonging to the Deeds of Šuppiliuma by del Monte (2009: 163). This attribution, however, rests solely on the mention of the adjective *tarpani-*, and del Monte himself remarks that “la menzione di Kumani fa difficoltà”.

¹⁶ Bronze Tablet iii 48 (Otten 1988: 22). This passage places Kizzuwatna among other toponyms, like Ḫurniya, Ikkuwaniya, or Pitašša, all which are identified with KUR, but which were known to be only provinces of the Hittite Empire. Thus, the use of KUR in this context is of geographical or administrative, not political nature. See also interesting observations of Shelestin (2023: 344).

¹⁷ It does persist, however, in the international correspondence (see below).

¹⁸ Bilgin 2018: 44. See also Trameri 2020: 437. Trameri (2020, 427–429) gives further argument to support this, when he compares the Middle and New Hittite versions of the Hymn to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. In the former, Kizzuwatna is mentioned as one of the *kuriwana-* states (variously translated as “independent”, or “protectorate”), whereas in the latter, written under Muršili II, the name is missing from the list.

In texts of religious nature, predominantly oracles, Kummanni plays a far greater role than Kizzuwatna and it is used mainly in its geographic sense, i.e., as the city itself. It is “in Kummanni” rather than “in Kizzuwatna” that oracles were performed and festivals for the gods were celebrated.¹⁹ While we do find some mentions of Kizzuwatna in the festival texts, it is mostly due to the fact that its name appears in the colophons of the *hišuwā*- festival, where the “tablets of Kizzuwatna” (or better “Kizzuwatnaean tablets”) are referred to. Interestingly enough, there is not one single instance that uses Kummanni in that context.²⁰

1.1.3. The Language (of the Text)

The analysis of the language of the texts mentioning both toponyms proves to be equally revealing (see Table 3).

Language (of the text)	Kizzuwatna (ca. 250 instances)	Kummanni (ca. 150 instances)
Hittite	186	148
Akkadian	59/8	2/1
Hurrian	4/1	—

Table 3. Attestations of Kizzuwatna and Kummanni according to the language of the text.

The name Kizzuwatna is found in texts written in two languages other than Hittite, with almost 60 mentions in Akkadian compositions and four in Hurrian. The Hurrian attestations are all found in one text, the historical(?) narrative from Kayalıpınar,²¹ but there are also few additional Hurrian forms of Kizzuwatna in texts written in Hittite.²²

On the other hand, all but two instances of Kummanni come from Hittite texts. The remaining attestations are found in two very small Akkadian fragments, KBo 28.138 and KBo 28.145. The former interestingly mentions the king of Kummanni and “going up” Mt. Manuziya. Despite the fact that Kummanni is most likely a Hurrian name, no texts in Hurrian mention the toponym.²³

It is unlikely that this distribution is accidental, as the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence demonstrates. When written in Akkadian, the letters always mention Kizzuwatna (both as a city and the land). However, the only case of a letter to Egypt written in Hittite (thus clearly a draft) mentions Kummanni, instead.²⁴ It seems therefore that when the letter was

¹⁹ Oracle procedures in various Kizzuwatnaean cities were quite often the subject of Hittite texts, as indicated by similar contexts mentioning Lawazantiya, Arušna or Adaniya, all providing setting for divination and festivals.

²⁰ Indeed, the name *Kummanni* appears in the *hišuwā*- festival only twice, in the 12th tablet, and as a place (see below).

²¹ DAAM 1.11 See the contribution of E. von Dassow in this volume.

²² See e.g., KUB 27.1 ii 39 (CTH 712): ^D*ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na-hi*.

²³ See, however, Shelestin 2023: 344f., who mentions corpora other than the Hittite tablet collections.

²⁴ KUB 21.38 obv. 30' (CTH 176).

translated into Akkadian in order to be understood in Egypt (or generally abroad), Kummanni would also be “translated” into Kizzuwatna.

1.1.4. Writing Conventions

Finally, some patterns become apparent when analysing the spelling of the two toponyms. While more than the half of attestations (ca. 140) present the usual Hittite writing of *Kizzuwatna* (^{URU}*ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na* or ^{URU}*ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni*), no less than 13 different ways to write this toponym can be distinguished. The shorter variants, i.e., ones without the gemination of *z* or without the sign *WA* are found almost exclusively in texts written in Akkadian²⁵ or in the texts showing the Old Script.²⁶ The writing with *TA* and not *AT*, in turn, is attested 12 times, but not once in a text written in Hittite.²⁷ In contrast, the spelling of *Kummanni* is coherent throughout the corpus. In all but one case the name is written with the geminate *m* and *n*.²⁸

1.2. Summary

The toponyms Kizzuwatna and Kummanni were frequently used to indicate the same place. The detailed analysis of both names, however, shows that their distribution is conditioned politically, contextually and linguistically. In very few instances these place names are actually interchangeable.²⁹

Kizzuwatna was one of the main names used to designate the kingdom encompassing roughly the region of Cilicia until it was fully incorporated into the Hittite empire. Early on, however, as we learn, for example, from the Proclamation of Telipinu, the center of political power in the region was focused around the city Adaniya. This is still echoed in the Šunaššura Treaty, where at times, perhaps as a quote from earlier texts, Adaniya is used as a synonym of (a part of) Kizzuwatna. Once the kingdom of Kizzuwatna had been established, the seat of power in the region shifted.³⁰

It remains unclear whether the capital of Kizzuwatna originally bore the same name as the land,³¹ if it had the double name Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, or if it was called Kummanni

²⁵ E.g., KUR ^{URU}*ki-zu-at-ni* (KBo 28.109+ 6’); ^{URU}*gi-is-s/zu-at-ni* (KBo 1.2 rev. 20’, 24’).

²⁶ KUB 31.81 obv. 6’: KUR ^{URU}*ki-iz-zu-at-na*.

²⁷ The writing with *TA* instead of *AT* appears in the the Paddatiššu Treaty (CTH 26, KUB 34.1), the Akkadian version of the Šunaššura Treaty (CTH 41, KUB 28.106) and the Hurrian text from Šamuḫa (CTH 791, DAAM 1.11). Note that all these texts are pre-NH.

²⁸ KBo 2.3 iv 14 (CTH 404): ^{URU}*ku-ma-ni*. The only case of the name written with *ku-um* instead of *kum* is KUB 48.81 6’ (CTH 13): ^{URU}*ku-um-ma-an-n[i]*.

²⁹ This stands in contrast to Shelestin’s conclusion that there are “no contexts that set Kizzuwatna and Kummanni apart” (Shelestin 2023: 343).

³⁰ It is unlikely that Adaniya was the capital of Kizzuwatna at any point in time.

³¹ Note that in contrast to Kummanni, Kizzuwatna does not appear in any historical narratives of the early Hittite kings. While it is true that these narratives are all late copies, there is no proof whatsoever that the use of Kummanni instead of Kizzuwatna could be an “innovation produced by the New Hittite scribes” (Shelestin 2023: 347).

(also the main religious center of the region). In the latter case the name Kizzuwatna would only secondarily have been applied to also mean the city. Recently, Shelestin proposed that Kizzuwatna and Kummanni were two distinct but adjacent settlements which merged at certain point in time.³²

In any case, at some point the two toponyms started to be used interchangeably in certain contexts: Paliya, the king of Kizzuwatna, is also called the king of Kummanni. The same goes for Maštigga, the female ritual practitioner from Kizzuwatna/Kummanni. Conversely, the city of Kummanni was also called at times (the city of) Kizzuwatna.

There is, however, a clear limit to this variability. Kummanni is never called “a land” until the reign of Muršili II, exactly when Kizzuwatna ceases to function in that capacity.³³ Under Muršili, the region seems to have been deprived of any separate status, however ostensible it might have been, to the point that it was no longer called Kizzuwatna. The divine witness lists no longer mention “the deities of Kizzuwatna”, but only “the deities of Kummanni”.³⁴ Kizzuwatna begins to function solely as a city, alternating at times with Kummanni, like in Muršili II’s Annals. Kummanni, in turn, assumes a more pronounced religious role, yet without, it seems, any political significance. Interestingly, the heartland cities of former Kizzuwatna resurface once more in the 1st Millennium in the itinerary of the army led by Shalmaneser III. There, the name Kizzuwatna (in the form Kisuatni), not Kummanni appears.³⁵

2. THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KIZZUWATNA

The written sources for studying the historical geography of Kizzuwatna are various and many.³⁶ Much information comes from treaties or historical narratives, even if it is often rather fragmentary. Conquering or rebuilding cities in the region of and around Cilicia seems to be the topic of some texts. Certain administrative documents, land grants and texts discussing cult reorganization provide us with many but otherwise poorly attested names. Quite a few rituals and festivals taking place in religious centres of Kizzuwatna also come to aid. While these texts fail to offer clear itineraries, as is the case with, e.g., the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM or *nuntarriyašha*-festivals, one still finds there much informative data. However, very few sources provide us with details of the Kizzuwatnaean cities themselves – we know next to nothing about their topography, temples, institutions, or officials.

³² Shelestin 2023: 348–350. As a fitting analogy to this hypothesis, Mirko Novák (pers. comm.) brought up the Kullab and Eanna districts, which originally were separate settlements only to merge later into what became known as the city of Uruk.

³³ The only contexts where the name of the land of Kizzuwatna remains in use, is the Hittite correspondence with Egypt, but only when it is written in Akkadian (in a Hittite draft, the name Kummanni is used), and one mention of “the land” of Kizzuwatna in the Bronze Tablet.

³⁴ With the exception of the Bronze Tablet (see n. 16 above).

³⁵ Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 283f.

³⁶ Much has been written on the subject: see, e.g., Goetze 1940, Forlanini 2001, M. Trémouille 2001, Forlanini 2013, Hawkins–Weeden 2017 (with literature). See also Shelestin 2020, who attempts to compile a list of all places belonging to Kizzuwatna according to the Hittite sources. Very useful is also a recent archaeological overview by Novák–Rutishauser 2017 (including maps with proposed identifications of ancient names).

This kind of information, when possible, can for now only be gleaned from archaeological material.³⁷

If we consider what areas of Kizzuwatna are available to us when studying the Hittite texts, we can distinguish three general groups:

- Texts describing the borders of Kizzuwatna.
- Texts describing the core territory of Kizzuwatna.
- Texts referring to places somewhere in or in close geographical relation to Kizzuwatna.³⁸

2.1. *The Borders of Kizzuwatna*

2.1.1. The Šunaššura Treaty

The most important source for the study of the outer territories of Kizzuwatna is the Šunaššura-Treaty (CTH 40). Its Akkadian version provides a lengthy description of the border between Hattuša and Kizzuwatna, stretching over 27 lines before it breaks. The text, as well as the border-description itself have been discussed on many occasions from different perspectives and there is no need to repeat the passage here.³⁹ Instead, a few observations on the structure and the historical context of this passage will be offered, supported by examples.

Hittite border descriptions can be found in more than a dozen documents.⁴⁰ While their structure can differ, the predominant pattern is that a border is segmented into smaller parts and each such unit is described through a complex internal reference system, according to the pattern: “In the direction of/Towards point X, point Y is the border of PN” (see an example below).

Meanwhile, the Šunaššura Treaty demonstrates a peculiar mixed system. In the first two paragraphs of the relevant fragment (§§61–62), the wording is unlike any other border description in the Hittite tablet collections. The border here does not consist of points, but forms a line or a belt, as in this example:

CTH 41: KBo 1.5 iv 40–42⁴¹

“In the direction of the sea, the city Lamiya belongs to My Sun, the city Pitura belongs to Šunaššura. The border(-territory) between them will be measured and divided.”

At the start of §63, however, the description changes. The author of the treaty makes reference to the former border between the two lands. Both the word *labarmanna*⁴² and the switch from the usual title of the currently reigning king ^DUTU-ši “My Sun” to a more

³⁷ On the nature of the material sources, see Novák–Rutishauser 2017: 142.

³⁸ Naturally, not all texts can be attributed to only one of those categories. Especially difficult is distinguishing which toponyms refer to places in the core territory of the region, not least because the definition of the core is per force unclear.

³⁹ Borders in the Šunaššura were studied, e.g., in Goetze 1940: 36–60; Börker-Klähn 1996; Novák–Rutishauser 2009; Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 282f.

⁴⁰ See Kryszewski, forthcoming.

⁴¹ KBo 1.5 iv 40–42: ⁴⁰*iš-tu* A.AB.BA ^{URU}*la-mi-ia ša* ^DUTU-ši ^{URU}*pi-tu-ra*^{ki} ⁴¹*ša* ^Mšu-na-aš-šu-ra i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ZAG *i-ma-an-dá-dú* ⁴²*ù i-za-a-zu*.

⁴² While translations of this term vary, I lean towards Beckman’s “since long ago” (Beckman 1999: 21). See also Novák–Rutishauser 2009: 262.

general LUGAL GAL “great king” suggest that this part is either a quote or a paraphrase of a passage from an earlier treaty. In addition, from this point onwards the structure of the text becomes similar to what in the later texts would become a standard border-description. While in the §§61–62, the territory of both rulers was equally limited, starting from §§63 the border is imposed on only one party (Šunaššura), and the points of the border are described using the more usual reference system sketched above:

CTH 41: KBo 1.5 iv 55–56⁴³

“In the direction of the city Luwana, the city Turpina is border of Šunaššura.”

Which treaty served as the basis for writing the second part of the description in the Šunaššura Treaty is unclear. One indication is perhaps the characteristic feature of the text, namely the use of the postdeterminative KI with some of the toponyms. This determinative is rarely found in the Hittite texts⁴⁴ and there is only one other treaty with Kizzuwatna that uses it, namely the Paddatiššu-Treaty (CTH 26), written some three generations earlier.

The border description of the Šunaššura Treaty mentions 15 places altogether. Seven of them belong to Kizzuwatna, eight if one counts in the Šamri River, which forms part of the border. Of course, also those toponyms that were not formally situated in Kizzuwatna are important for our reconstruction of geography of the region. Unfortunately, only three places are attested elsewhere: Adaniya (modern Adana), the river Šamri (identified with the Seyhan river) and the mountain of the city Zabarašna. The latter, as noted by Shelestin, is most likely identical with the city and Mt. Šaparaššana,⁴⁵ yet most of its remaining attestations are limited to the deities connected with the mountain.

The Šunaššura Treaty is our most valuable source on the borders between Kizzuwatna and Ḫattuša, but this is undoubtedly due to the fact that the remaining treaties with Kizzuwatna are badly preserved and one can recover from there only snippets of border related stipulations. However, the earliest treaty between the kings of both lands, one concluded between Telipinu and Išputaḫšu (CTH 21) actually does preserve a fragment of a border description. Interestingly enough, this point of the border, – if the passage is interpreted correctly – is made for the Hittite party, not Kizzuwatna. This would be, as far as I know, the only such case in the Hittite texts:

CTH 21: KUB 31.81 rev. 10'–12'

10']x 'ŠA' LUGAL GAL 'ZAG'-aš nu-za ^Miš-pu-taḫ-šu-uš LUGAL ^{URU}ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na

11' ma-a]n-ni-in-ku-wa-an ti-ia-e-ez-zi na-an

12' le-e za]-'a'-i

“... (is) the border of the great king. Išputaḫšu the king of Kizzuwatna may come ne[ar it] but will [not] cross it.”⁴⁶

⁴³ KBo 1.5 iv 55–56: ⁵⁵iš-tu ^{URU}lu-wa-na^{KI} ^{URU}tūr-pi-na^{KI} ZAG ⁵⁶ša ^Mšu-na-aš-šu-ra.

⁴⁴ Kryszewski 2020.

⁴⁵ Shelestin 2020: 278.

⁴⁶ Alternatively, one could argue that the genitive ŠA LUGAL GAL “of the great king” refers not to the ZAG-aš “the border”, but to the missing word in the broken part of the line. In that case, the sentence would go something like: “[The X] of the great king is the border [of Išputaḫšu].” However, in the Hittite language the possessor usually stands before the possessed, also when they are written heterographically, and for that reason I lean towards the interpretation where the border is limiting the Hittite king.

2.2. The Core Territory of Kizzuwatna

2.2.1. 12th Tablet of the *hišuwā*-Festival (CTH 628)

The most significant text for reconstructing the core region of Kizzuwatna is the 12th tablet of the *hišuwā*-festival (CTH 628).⁴⁷ Since Trémouille's treatment of this text, it is the common agreement that key religious centers of Kizzuwatna were situated along one main road of the region.⁴⁸ In a sequence of five almost identical paragraphs we find evidence that seems to suggest a procession starting from Kummanni and proceeding to Zunnaḥara, Adaniya, Tarša, and Ellipra.⁴⁹ The text is all the more valuable that two of the cities mentioned, Adaniya and Tarša, are clearly modern Adana and Tarsus respectively, which gives us proof that the procession moved east to west. This means the city Kummanni and Zunnaḥara must have been situated east of Adana, which is crucial for interpreting the texts analysed below.

2.2.2. Annals of an Early Hittite King (KBo 3.54)

Zunnaḥara appears once again in KBo 3.54, a historical narrative written in New Script but referring to the exploits of an early Hittite king, Ḫattušili I or Muṣili I.⁵⁰ We find it mentioned together with Šinuwanda, which is known from the border-description of Tarḫuntašša,⁵¹ and which has been reconstructed in the passage in the Annals of Arnuwanda I referring to Kizzuwatna (but see below). However, the passage is quite fragmentary and contains also toponyms with no direct connection to the region, therefore the assumed itinerary cannot be reconstructed with certainty.⁵²

2.2.3. Annals of Arnuwanda I (KUB 23.21)

The third possible itinerary in that region is preserved in a small but important passage in the Annals of Arnuwanda (KUB 23.21, obv. 2'–8'),⁵³ in which the Hittite king writes about fortifying or re-building some Kizzuwatnaean cities. A photo collation and an analysis of the names allow the proposal of some alternative readings to the ones found in the previous studies (changes are marked in bold):

⁴⁷ The text has been reconstructed from ca. 20 fragments, the main of which are KBo 9.123+ and KBo 35.260+.

⁴⁸ Cf. Trémouille 2001. On this text see recently Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 284f.

⁴⁹ See, however, some reservation as to the exact nature of this description in Trameri 2024.

⁵⁰ Cf. Trémouille 2001: 62 and recently Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 286 (with literature).

⁵¹ Bronze Tablet i 43–47. On this passage see recently Forlanini 2017: 248.

⁵² The toponyms preserved in KBo 3.54 14'–17' are: Ḫarašḫapa – Taššan[–]išta – Arimatta – (...) – Parukit-taš – (...) – Zunnaḥara – Šinuwanda. Arimatta, just like Šinuwanda was used to describe the borders of Tarḫuntašša (Bronze Tablet i 22–28). Ḫarašḫapa is perhaps mentioned in CTH 824: KBo 59.184 5' ([-x-ra-aš-ḫa-pa]), likely a religious itinerary. If one emended the first sign in the toponym Taššan[to ša, one could restore it Šaššan[da], a name which also appears in CTH 824. This is, however, too much of a conjecture to be considered convincing.

⁵³ KUB 23.21 (CTH 143). On the text see Carruba 1977: 166–171. For the passage in question see Houwink ten Cate 1970: 58–59; Trémouille 2001: 52; Gilan 2015: 175; Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 286; Gander 2022: 313.

CTH 143: KUB 23.21 obv. 2'–8'
 2' (-)u]š²-ša ap-pa-an-d[u
 3' -d]a²-a-an ú-e-te-nu-un [
 4' ^{URU}zu-u]n-na-ḫa-ra-an
 5' ^{URU}a-da-ni-ia-an ^{GIS}ar-m[i-iz-zi
 6' ^{URU}ú-i-n]u-wa-an-da-an ^{URU}ḫi-ia(-)x²[54
 7'] ú-e-te-nu-un ḫa-an-te-e[z-zi
 8' ^{HUR.SAG}z]u-ul-li-it-ta-an [

obv. 6: I owe the reading [Win]uwanda instead of the accepted [Šin]uwanda, to Alvis Matessi (pers. com.). This choice relieves Šinuwanda from the necessity of being located west of Adaniya, which would otherwise stand in contrast with the remaining evidence for this city, which points to the borders of Tarḫuntašša. Note that this change also removes the only attestation suggesting that Šinuwanda belonged to the core territory of Kizzuwatna.

obv. 8: The previous reading ^{URU}z]u-ul-li-it-ta-an is to be emended to ^{HUR.SAG}z]u-ul-li-it-ta-an, a mountain linked to Kizzuwatna through the mountain list of the *ḫišuwa-* festival (see below).

Further evidence, although rather dispersed, about the core territory of Kizzuwatna, can be drawn from numerous oracles, as well as ritual and festival texts.

2.2.4. Land Donation of Tudḫaliya IV to Šaḫurunuwa (CTH 225)

Some information can be gleaned from the Land Donation of Tudḫaliya IV to Šaḫurunuwa (CTH 225).⁵⁵ The document presents geographic data essentially in the fashion known from reports on local cults or cult inventories, namely by identifying the position of one town through the position of the nearest larger centre. For our purpose here, only two lines of the Šaḫurunuwa document are of value:⁵⁶

KUB 26.43 obv. 39–40 / KUB 26.50 obv. 34–35
^{URU}ga-an-ga-zu-wa ^{URU}ḫa-ma-ra-aš na-at 2 ^{URU}ḫi^{HL.A} QÉ-RU-UB ^{URU}ú-ru-uš-ša ^{URU}a-ra-na-aš ^{URU}ši-
 na-mu-[2 ^{URU}ḫi^{HL.A} QÉ-RU]-UB ^{URU}ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni
 “Gangazuwa, Ḫamara – two towns near Urušša. Arana, Šinamu[– two towns near Kizzuwatna”

⁵⁴ Houwink ten Cate 1970: 58f. proposed to read the word as ^{URU}ḫi-a-w[a-an]. Forlanini (2012) points out, however, there is no traces of the w[a on the photo (see also Gilan 2015: 175 with n. 13). The matter is difficult. In his copy of the text (KUB 23), Götze clearly saw traces of two horizontals or *Winkelbacken*. One can hardly decide the matter looking at the photo. On the one hand, tiny traces of the beginning of a sign after IA can perhaps be visible (I would like to thank Alice Mouton and Daniel Schwemer for discussing this with me). On the other hand, the words on the tablet are tightly written, what makes the gap after the IA sign and the assumed WA sign quite difficult to accept. A possible counter argument to that, according to which the last sign in the line can be moved to the end of the line, does not hold, since the place name here needs to stand in accusative, like all the other toponyms in the passage. This means two signs after IA, not one. It might therefore be not out of place to think of an entirely different reading of this word, i.e. not as a toponym, but as ^{URU}ḫi^(A)-ia “and the cities”. This, however, would require an emendation, which is hardly a desired solution.

⁵⁵ For the edition of this text see Imparati 1974.

⁵⁶ Naturally, many more places mentioned in the text may have situated in Kizzuwatna. Yet since most names do not appear anywhere else, there is no way to verify this hypothesis.

The two main cities in this passage that are clearly situated in Kizzuwatna are the capital, and Urušša. Additional evidence for the latter is provided by the Išmerika Treaty (CTH 133) discussed below, where Urušša is also explicitly said to be part of Kizzuwatna. This city is thus unlikely to be identical with Uršu, known from the early composition *Siege of Uršu*,⁵⁷ as the latter in Hittite is written Waršuwa.⁵⁸ It is, however, surely the same city which is said to be Hurrian in the Šunaššura-Treaty.⁵⁹ The towns said to be located near Urušša in CTH 225, namely Gangazuwa and Ḫamara, are likely otherwise unattested.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the only partially preserved name Šinamu[, is surely the same as the one mentioned in KUB 40.2, a text regarding the renewal of a cult donation for Išḫara.⁶¹ Finally, Arana is found, just like Urušša, in the Išmerika Treaty.

In addition to the place names just discussed, one needs to mention certain cities of Kizzuwatna which were clearly important religious centres of the region and are therefore well attested, like Arušna⁶² or Lawazantiya.⁶³ Their location was likely central, and for the latter city a candidate has been proposed.⁶⁴ Note that despite their relevance, deities of those cities do not appear in any divine witness list of the international treaties, with the only exception of the Tarḫuntašša treaties.

2.3. *Texts Referring to Places Somewhere in or in Close Geographical Relation to Kizzuwatna*

A different set of toponyms pointing to Kizzuwatna, but with no apparent information as to their location within the region, appears in the following texts:

2.3.1. The Išmerika Treaty (CTH 133)

The so-called Išmerika treaty is a contract made by Arnuwanda I with a number of individuals of the land of Išmerika, which either are moved to, or are granted cities in Kizzuwatna. Here, only the translation of the relevant fragment is presented (KUB 23.68 rev. 12–24):

“Eḫal-Tešub, man of Išmeriga: back² in Kizzuwatna his city is Zazlippa, but he was in Wašukanna.

⁵⁷ This was taken into consideration by Goetze 1940: 41–48.

⁵⁸ Compare the Akkadian and Hittite versions of the Annals of Ḫattušili I (KBo 10.1 obv. 7: ^{URU}ur-šū (Akkadian) vs. KBo 10.2 i 16: ^{URU}wa-ar-šū-wa (Hitt.). On the location of Uršu upstream of Karkamiš see recently Cohen 2017: 297 (with literature).

⁵⁹ KBo 1.5 iv 5f.

⁶⁰ Ḫamara in this text can hardly be the same place as Ḫamaʿr[a in KUB 12.2 iii 24.

⁶¹ It should likely be treated separately, however, from Šiname somewhere in the northern Syria, mentioned in the IBoT 1.34, an Akkadian letter of Šuttaura, the last king of Ḫanigalbat at the times of Tudḫaliya IV.

⁶² For Arušna, some 70% of over 40 attestations come from oracles and more than 80% serve to designate the deity (Išḫara of Arušna, usually called simply as “the deity from Arušna”).

⁶³ It has been argued with good reasons that there were two Lawazantiyas: one in Cilicia, the other much more to the north or north-east. The former was a religious centre of Kizzuwatna, while the latter was situated on the merchant trail from northern Mesopotamia to Anatolia in the Old Assyrian times. Here, the former Lawazantiya is meant.

⁶⁴ The site is Tatarlı Höyük. See Forlanini 2013: 6 and 8.

...iš, man of Išmeriga. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Wašukanna.
 Warlawā-Ziti, man of Išmeriga. His city is Ziyaziya. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Wašukanna.
 ...aš, man of Išmeriga. His city is Ziyaziya. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Wašukanna
 ..., man of Išmeriga. His city is Zizziya. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Wašukanna.
 x, ...imma, Nanni, Aliwašu - four men of Išmeriga. In Kizzuwatna their city is ...
 Mazziya, Ḫurlanni – two men of Išmeriga. Their city (is) Adara. In Kizzuwatna their city (is)
 Arana.
 Akiya, Ḫuḫanani – two men of Išmeriga. In Kizzuwatna their city (is) Terušša.
 Zardumanni, ...-wa: two men of Išmeriga. Their city (is) ...miša. In Kizzuwatna their city (is) Uriga.
 ... – man of ...puriya. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Urušša.
 ... man of Irrita. In Kizzuwatna his city (is) Urušša.
 ...ni, Pariyamuwa – two men of Zazlipa.”

The geography in the text is perplexing.⁶⁵ While Terušša and Urika are likely *hapax legomena*, Arana is known from the above cited Land Donation of Šaḫurunuwa to have been situated near the city Kizzuwatna. The latter document mentions also Urušša. Zazlipa, in turn must be the same as Zizzilippa, mentioned with Luḫuzantiya/Lawazantiya in the Proclamation of Telipinu (CTH 19) in lines referring to the king’s attack on Ḫaššu (located around Maraš). Finally, as noted a number of times, Wašukanna can hardly be the capital of the state of Mittanni, which is currently identified with Tell Fekheriye some 300 km east of Cilicia.⁶⁶

2.3.2. A Renewal of a Cult Donation for Išhara (CTH 641)

KUB 40.2 (CTH 641), a renewal of a cult donation by two Kizzuwatnaean kings, Talzu and Šunaššura, concerns a detailed cult foundation on Mt. Išhara, and the temple of Išhara of the city Neriša, which was located on that mountain. The preserved part of the text contains a list of towns with surroundings, naming 17 places in total, all situated somewhere in Kizzuwatna.⁶⁷ While some, like Tarša (Tarsus) and Šinamu[(near Kummanni) were surely located in the central territory, in case of others, the situation is unclear.

2.3.3. The Great Prayer of Muwatalli (CTH 381)

Some toponyms of Kizzuwatna might be less obvious to spot. For example, in the Great Prayer of Muwatalli (CTH 381), in the section devoted to Kummanni,⁶⁸ one of the deities is Pišanuḫi. The god’s name is based on a toponym, as demonstrated by a passage in a ritual of Kizzuwatna (CTH 479) KUB 30.31 iii 17, where we find ^Dnupatik ^{URU}pišanuḫi. The existence of a local Nubadig brings to mind the two other Nubadigs known from the

⁶⁵ See also Beal 1986: 438f.; Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 291.

⁶⁶ One should admit, however, that in our current reconstruction of the historical geography of Cilicia, there are suspiciously many places for which one argues accidental similarity of names to places situated on the eastern side of the Amanus mountains.

⁶⁷ These are: Alzara, Ḫulašša, Ḫuraliyanza, Mt. Išhara, Ipiyara, Izzi[ya], Kummanni, Kunniyara, Lakkiš[, Lupuruna[, Margana, Neriša, River Puruna, Šinamu[, Tarša, spring Tuwatarina, Uparpaš[a, Waštišša.

⁶⁸ KUB 6.45 i 63–65.

hišuwu-festival: that of Pipita, and that of Zalmana, cities of unknown location, although likely outside of Cilicia.⁶⁹

2.3.4 10th Tablet of the *hišuwu*-Festival (CTH 628)

Finally, the 10th tablet of the *hišuwu*-festival provides us with two long offering lists of mountains and of rivers, which seem to cover the area surely stretching on the both sides of the Amanus Mountains, thus at least partly in Kizzuwatna. Each list contains over 40 names and can be reconstructed from multiple manuscripts. The lion's share of the names is attested only in CTH 628, but in case of several we find further information.⁷⁰

Mountain List⁷¹

Ammana ⁷²	Inatarziya
Manuziya ⁷³	Zatarziya
Šuwarziya ⁷⁴	Erzeli / Erziyali
Kurkudunni / Kurkuttiuna	Nanaparziya
Ilal[Zara ⁷⁵
Aprigak[Šinniyari
]tara Damattara	Dunniyari
Par[/ Puruwa	Kalzatapa/Kalzatapiyari ⁷⁶
Galaniya / Galammaya / Lammaya	Nanni Ḫazzi ⁷⁷
Piriš[Kan/lzarrapari / Kalzarrapati
Immaliya	Zallamura
Am(m)arzakkina	Zullitta ⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Neither the exact names, nor the location of those cities are uncertain, but note that Pipita (as Bibita) is attested in cuneiform texts from Ugarit, see Belmonte 2001: 54.

⁷⁰ The lists have been compiled from the following fragments of CTH 628: DAAM 1.20, IBoT 2.85+, KBo 15.51, KBo 15.52+, KBo 15.57, KBo 15.58, KBo 15.61, Merzifon 2, KBo 15.64+, KBo 15.65+, KBo 15.67+, KUB 20.95+, KUB 40.100.

⁷¹ Note that the first three names on the list refer to well-known peaks or ranges. Therefore, their position is likely not related to geography. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the remaining names were arranged according to some geographical principle. The oronyms are usually identified with the Hurrian term *pappenna*, but also with the usual sumerograms ḪUR.SAG or KUR.

⁷² Nur (Amanus) Mountains.

⁷³ A famous mountain, likely near Kummanni, home to the Stormgod. Attested almost exclusively as a deity or an identifier to a deity. The exception might be the Akkadian fragment KBo 28.138, where somebody is said to have carried something onto Mt. Manuzi (unless the carrying of the Stormgod of Manuzi is meant).

⁷⁴ Mt. Šuwarziya appears in an evocation list (Bo 6676+ IBoT 2.84 5'–6') together with Mt. Lula, located by Forlanini near Ulukişla (1988: 133f.), thus also in Kizzuwatna, and with Mt. Kupid(a), known also from a text from Kuşakli (KuSa 1/1.8 3' ḪUR.SAG *ku-pi-id'*).

⁷⁵ Also in KUB 54.47 6' with the city Izziya in Kizzuwatna.

⁷⁶ The same as Mt. Kallištapa (see Hawkins–Weeden 2017, 286 and Shelestin 2020: 270). The mountain was situated near Kummanni and Lawazantiya, as indicated, e.g. by the Ritual of Palliya. Note that the shorter form Kalzatapa appears with the logographic determinative ḪUR.SAG, whereas the variant Kalzatapiyari with the Hurrian identifier *pappenna*.

⁷⁷ Mt. Ḫazzi is Jebel Aqra / Mount Casius.

⁷⁸ Also in KUB 23.21 obv. 8' (see above).

Kurḫi(na)	Šēra
Etna	Šinatiella / Šēnutiella
Ḫeḫe	Gurna
Muliyanta	Teri(ri)un
Ilišša	Turaššila
Zupaniun	Šūri-la
Tišna	Šurumiya
Uppana/Uppanili	Ulig(g)ama
Uwalalla(ki) / Ullalli	Tutuwa / Tutupa ⁷⁹

River List

Wettiḫu (?)	Zarzarunna
...allagaggapa	Tašappašaru
...zaḫa	Tatarinainu
...runna	Ganiggatapu
...na	Ḫellara
Pu[]	Pipištunni
Pur[]ša	Zummagara
Da[]litu Šimaru	Zapaiuna
Šutrula Šinamura	Šippinnuwaru
...]akkima
Tunanta]x
Takarpa]unna
Ammala]šaḫa
Wapišilu/Wepaiššelu	Inaḫa
Kalilapu	Kunaduwa
Uštalapau / Uššalapau	Zirimarau / Zirimari
Tarmaziya	Alwarunna
Zamaziu	Ziyalunna / Ziyarunna
Šukkupugullu	Penešarunna
Tiyamaturriu	Aštayanda

One wonders about the function of these compilations. Producing long lists of toponyms in religious contexts is something we find quite often in the Hittite texts: in mountain evocations in various festivals, in offerings made for the gods, in divine witness lists of treaties concluded by the Hittite kings. It seems that such lists were a Hittite way to map a territory through names, not images. Passages of this kind could be variously constructed: sometimes, as in the *itkalzi* ritual, by listing the places tracing an imaginary border (see de Martino in the present volume), and sometimes, like in the case of the *ḫišuwa*-lists, by mentioning (all) the mountains and rivers situated within a specific territory.

All in all, we find ca. 50–60 names in the Hittite texts that most likely refer to cities in Kizzuwatna. To this one should add mountains and rivers surely situated in Kizzuwatna, the number of which is as of yet undefined. Many more await recognition, as the Hittite texts mention well more than 2000 toponyms in total.

⁷⁹ Note the city Tuttuwa in the oracle KBo 44.209 i 1, 8 and low. edge 1.

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THE REGION OF KIZZUWATNA VIEWED FROM EGYPT: THE ATTESTATIONS(?) OF KIZZUWATNA AND ITS AREA IN THE EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTATION

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Abstract

This contribution aims at rediscussing and presenting the current status quaestionis about some toponyms allegedly used to denote the region of Kizzuwatna and, more generally, the later Cilician area, in documents from Egypt: Qd(w)dn/Qjgwdn/Qdw (the only place name surely referring to Kizzuwatna), Qdy/Qt, Ḥwšt, and Danuna.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I would like to offer a perspective on Kizzuwatna¹ and Cilicia as it was perceived by Egypt, analysing the attestations of this area in the Egyptian documentation. First, I will offer a general chronological and geographical overview; second, I will analyse some toponyms that either certainly or allegedly refer to Kizzuwatna or Cilicia; third, I will focus on the Amarna letters and the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence of the Ramesside period; fourth, I will scrutinise some problematic sources; and finally, I will present some preliminary conclusions.

1. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF CHRONOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

The present contribution will focus on the geographical area of Kizzuwatna at its height, ca. 1550 to 1400 BC (see e.g. Liverani 2014: 279, Fig. 16.2); I will also analyse documentation from earlier and later than this period; during the acme of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna,² in Egypt are attested (in the Second Intermediate Period) the Hyksos kings, and the main pharaohs of the early 18th dynasty (New Kingdom), from Ahmose to Thutmose IV (see e.g. Liverani 2014: 292, Table 17.1; cf. Hornung–Krauss–Warburton 2015: 492).

¹ A general overview on Kizzuwatna can be found in Kümmel 1976–1980.

² On this topic see Trameri 2020: 211–324.

In the present study, I benefited very much from some publications by Zs. Simon, and specifically his papers about Qode (Simon 2011) and Danuna (Simon 2015). Without indulging too much in the details, which will be explained later, it is important to remember that the problem of recognising ancient toponyms is a very challenging undertaking, in which it is very easy to make mistakes.

Looking at some recent Egyptological publications (e.g. Hannig 2006), and including a list of toponyms, we find three entries related to our topic:³

- 1) *Qdj*, that is Qody/Qady, simply described as “ein Land” (Hannig 2006: 1195 [42657]);
- 2) *Qdwdn*, that is Kizzuwatna, denoted as “ein Land, im Gebiet von Kilikien” (Hannig 2006: 1195 [42665]);
- 3) *Hw3t*, vocalized as Chut/Chuat/Huwe, allegedly considered as “*Kilikien” (but note the asterisk), defined as “ein Örtlichkeit in Asien” (Hannig 2006: 1176 [42235]).

In section two of this paper, I analyse the three toponyms attested in Hannig’s dictionary, and also add in a fourth one, i.e. *Dnn*.

2. THE ALLEGED TERMS FOR KIZZUWATNA AND CILICIA

2.1. *Kizzuwatna* (*Qd(w)dn/Qjgwdn/Qdw*)

The first toponym to be considered is *Qd(w)dn/Qjgwdn/Qdw*, attested (at least according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*⁴) six times in texts related to the battle of Kadesh (see Table *infra*). H. Gauthier wrote about its location: “Deux théories opposées se partagent le monde savant en ce qui concerne la situation de cette contrée : les uns [...] placent *Kizzuwadna* sur la Méditerranée et lui attribuent la ville de Tarse en Cilicie [...] ; les autres [...] le situent, au contraire, sur la mer Noire. [...] Aucune de ces deux thèses n’a encore produit en sa faveur d’argument décisif”.⁵ The location of the place was, at least, a bit confused, until A. Goetze demonstrated the location of Kizzuwatna along the Mediterranean Sea and, more specifically, in Southern Anatolia.⁶

Looking closer at primary sources, we can see how the toponym is listed in texts from the period of Ramses II (1279–1213 BC):⁷

³ About the various names for Kizzuwatna, see Trameri 2020: 30–41.

⁴ Henceforth abbreviated ‘TLA’; available online at: <https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/home> (last access: 25th January 2024).

⁵ Gauthier 1928: 163–164.

⁶ Goetze 1940.

⁷ Headings and information from the TLA, *sub voce*, left in their original German version. In the text, the toponyms ‘Kizzuwatna’ and ‘Qedy’ are **bolded** (both of them) and underlined (just the latter). Reference to other editions (sometimes quoted here *verbatim*, in note) are provided for each attestation.

No.	Transliteration after TLA (adapted by the author) ⁸	Translation from TLA (with a few emendations)
1	<p>“<i>qdw</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, Theben, pBM 10683 (Chester Beatty III, vso 1–3), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (ChB1 + ChB2) (line [ChB1 vso 3,7])⁹”</p> <p>§43 <i>p3 t3 n ht jwi <r>-dr=<f> p3 <nhrn> mj.tt</i> <i>[p3] j(rtw) §44 [drdn]y [ChB1 vso 3,7] p3 kškš n3</i> <i>q[?]</i> §45 – fehlt – §46 <i>qdw q[?][j]k §47 qt p3[?]</i> <i>s r-dr=f mš(nt) [ChB1 vso 3,8] [?][j]k [j[?]] [p3]</i> <i>{t3} {jnjg} {r-dr}={f}[?]</i> {qđš}</p>	<p>[§43] Das ganze Land Chatti und <Naharina> kamen, ebenso A(rzawa), [§44] [Dardan]y?, Keschesch, Q[?], [§45] – fehlt – [§46] Kizzuwatna, Ka[rkemi]sch, [U]ga(rit), [§47] Qadi, das gesamte [Nuka]sse, Musch[natu, Qadesch].</p>
2	<p>“<i>qdw dn</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, Karnak, Amun-Bezirk, Hof III-IV, Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (K2) (line [19])”</p> <p>§43 – zerstört – [<i>m</i>]-<i>mj.tt p3 jrtw</i> §44 – zerstört – §45 – zerstört – [<i>qr</i>]<i>qđš rk</i> §46 <i>qdw dn</i> – zerstört – §47 – zerstört –</p>	<p>[§43] ... [ebe]nso Arzawa, [§44] ... [§45] ... [Qar]kische, Lukku, [§46] Kizzuwatna, ... [§47] ...</p>
3	<p>“<i>qdw dn</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, Karnak, Amun-Bezirk, Hypostyl (Außen)/Südwand, Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (K1) (line [11])”</p> <p>§43 <i>p3 {t3} n ht jwi r-dr=f p3 [nhrn] [m-mj.tt] [p3]</i> – zerstört – §44 – zerstört – §45 – zerstört – [<i>pd</i>]<i>s</i> – zerstört – [<i>jrw nn</i>] <i>p3 qr[qđš] rk</i> §46 <i>qdw dn</i> <i>krk mš j[krt]</i> §47 <i>qđj p3 t3 n ngs r-d[r]=f mušnt qđš</i></p>	<p>[§43] Das gesamte [Land] Chatti war gekommen, [Naharina ebenso wie] ..., [§44] ... [§45] ... [Pida]sa, ... [Arwana], Qar[kische], Lukka, [§46] Kizzuwatna, Karkemisch, U[garit], [§47] Qedi, das gesa[mt]e Land Nukasse, Muschnatu und Qadesch.</p>
4	<p>“<i>qdw dn</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, Luxor-Tempel, Pylon Ramses II., Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (L1) (line [14])”</p> <p>§43 <i>p3 t3 n ht jwi r-dr=f p3 nhrn m-[mj].tt</i> – zerstört – §44 <i>drdn y p3</i> – zerstört – §45 [<i>n3</i>] <i>pds [p3]</i> <i>jrw nn p3 qrqđš rk</i> §46 <i>qdw dn</i> <i>krk mš jkrt</i> §47 <i>qđj</i> <i>p3 t3 [n] [ng]s r-dr=f mušn[t] qđš</i></p>	<p>[§43] Das gesamte Land Chatti und Naharina war gekommen, ebenso ..., [§44] Dardana, ..., [§45] Pidasa, Arwana, Qarkische, Lukka, [§46] Kizzuwatna, Karkemisch, Ugarit, [§47] Qedi, das gesamte Land Nuhasse, Muschna[tu] und Qadesch.</p>
5	<p><i>qdw<d>n</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, pLouvre E 4892 + pBM 10181 (pRaifé + pSallier III), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (Rf-S) (line [Rf. 6])”</p> <p>§43 <i>p3 t3 n b[t] jwi r-dr=f p3 <n>hrn m-mj.tt p3</i> <i>jrtw</i> §44 [Rf. 6] [?] <i>p3 mš p3 kškš</i> §45 <i>p3 qrq[m]š r[k]</i> §46 <i>qdw<d>n qđš jkrt</i> – zerstört – § 47 [Rf. 7] – zerstört – [<i>j</i>]<i>[n]gs r-dr=f mušnt m-mj.tt</i></p>	<p>[§43] Das gesamte Land Chat[ti] und <Na>harina kamen, ebenso Arzawa, [§44] [Dardana?], Masa, Keschesch [§45] Qarkische, Luk[bkub], [§46] Kizzuwa<t>na, Qadesch, Ugarit, ... [§47] ... gesamte [N]ukasse und Muschnatu ebenso.</p>

⁸ The transliteration of the TLA has been checked on the original hieroglyphic texts published in *KRI* II (see following notes for precise reference); furthermore, besides the German translation from the TLA, footnotes will also report the English translation from *KRITA* II.

⁹ Reference for nos 1–5: *KRI* II: 17–18 and *KRITA* II: 4 (translation including all the parallel texts 1–5): ⁴³The entire land of Hatti had come; that of Naharina likewise, and that of Arzawa; ⁴⁴Dardanaya, that of the Gasgas, that (*var.*: those) of Masa; ⁴⁵those of Pidassa, that of Arwana, that of Qarqisha, (and) Lukku; ⁴⁶**Kizzuwatna**, Carchemish, Ugarit, ⁴⁷**Qode**; the entire land of Nuhasse; Mushnatu; (and) Qadesh”.

6	<p>“<i>qdwdn</i> ‘Kizzuwadna’, pLouvre E 4892 + pBM 10181 (pRaifé + pSallier III), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (Rf-S) (line [S 2,1])”¹⁰</p> <p>§84 <i>gmj=f jw jnh sw 2500 ˆ-n-ḥtr.</i>(Pl.) <i>m t3y=f w3.t rbnr</i> §85 <i>m pḥrr nb.t</i> [S1,10] <i><n> p3 [?] n ḥt ḥs ḥnˆ ḥ3s.wt 33.wt n.tj r-ḥnˆ=f</i> §86 <i>m jrṯ m mjws m ptts</i> § 86bis <i>m kškš</i> [S 2,1] <i>m jrwn m qdwdn m ḥrb m jkrt qdš rk</i> §87 <i>jw=w m 3 rmt ḥr ḥtr.</i>(Pl.) <i>jw jr.y=w {ḥr}</i> [S 2,2] [<i>sm3.w</i>] §88 <i>jw [bn] sr.</i>(Pl.) <i>ḥnˆ bn ktn.</i>(Pl.) §89 <i>jw bn wˆ.w.</i>(Pl.) <i>n mšˆ bn snn</i> §90 <i>jw ḥ3ˆ w(j) p3y=[j] mšˆ t3y=j t3-n.t-ḥtr.</i>(Pl.)</p>	<p>[§84] (Und) er stellte fest, dass ihn 2500 Pferdegespanne an seiner Außenseite einschlossen, [§85] bestehend aus jedem Läufer <des> ... des elenden Chatti und vieler Fremdländer, die bei ihm waren, [§86] (nämlich) aus Arzawa, aus Masa, aus Pidasa, aus Keschkesch, aus Arwana, aus Kizzuwadna, aus Aleppo, aus Ugarit, Qadesch und Lukku, [§87] wobei sie (jeweils) zu dritt auf einem Gespann standen und eine (Kampf)Einheit bildeten, [§88] (und) wobei kein[e] Würdenträger bei (mir) waren und keine Wagenlenker [§89] und keine (einfachen) Soldaten des Heeres und keine Streitwagenkämpfer, [§90] nachdem [mein] Heer und meine Streitwagenruppe mich verlassen hatten.</p>
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These lists seem to place Kizzuwatna in the Anatolian *milieu*, between eastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Looking more closely at the ‘Poem’ of the battle of Kadesh,¹¹ we notice first (nos 1, 3–4) that Qedy/Qode and Kizzuwatna are designated as two different toponyms, as already summarised in Simon 2011; they are clearly and definitely two different entities, even in their very spelling: Qode is spelt *Kd-d-y* (with the second <d> as a phonetic complement), plus the determinative N25,¹² the bank of sand, while Kizzuwatna is written *Q-d3-w-d-n* (using the typical New Kingdom ‘syllabic orthography’), plus the determinative N25 (in K1, Karnak version), while in K2 we find a slightly different rendering, *Q3-y-d3-w-d-n*, plus N25; in the L1 version (from Luxor), we can see that the spelling is almost the same as in K1, apart from the <3> after the <q> (thus, *Q-d3-w-d-n* plus N25); a very different spelling is in papyrus Raifé, where the toponym is written *Q3-d3-w3-n3-ty*, plus the determinative T14, the throw-stick, and the determinative N25; in this instance, there is probably a metatheses in the last two syllables; eventually, in the Chester Beatty papyrus, we observe a slightly different spelling, that is *Q3-d3-w3*, followed by three slanting and

¹⁰ Reference for no. 6: *KRI* II: 31–33 and *KRITA* II: 5: “⁸⁴He [the subject is the pharaoh; *Note of author*] found 2,500 chariot-spans hemming him in, all around him, ⁸⁵even all the champions (‘runners’) of the Hittite foe, along with the numerous foreign countries who were with them: – ⁸⁶from Arzawa, Masa and Pidassa; ^{86l}{from Gasgas, Arwana and **Kizzuwatna**; ^{86ll}from Aleppo, Ugarit, Qadesh and Lukka;} – ⁸⁷they were 3 men to a chariot-span, acting as a unit. ⁸⁸But there was no high officer with me, no charioteer, ⁸⁹no army-soldier, no shield-bearer. ⁹⁰But my army and my chariotry melted away before them, [...]”.

¹¹ *KRI* II: 17–18; *KRITA* II: 4: “43 The entire land of Hatti had come; that of Naharina likewise, and that of Arzawa; 44 Dardanaya, that of Gasgas, that (*var.* : those) of Masa; 45 those of Pidasa, that of Arwana, that of Qarqisha, (and) Lukku; 46 **Kizzuwatna**, Carchemish, Ugarit, 47 **Qode**; the entire land of Nuhasse; Mushnatu; (and) Qadesh; – 48 he left not (even one) country which was not brought, of every distant land”. To be noticed also that here and in a previous passage, which does not mention Kizzuwatna (*KRI* II: 3–4; *KRITA* II: 2), Qode is listed among both Anatolian and Syrian cities/regions (but clearly placed within this latter area). Cf. *infra* discussion in section 2.2.

¹² Egyptian sign codes according to Gardiner 1957³ (‘Sign List’).

curved strokes which are commonly used in hieratic for abbreviations, which could be, in this case, the two syllables *-n3-ty*, as in the Raifé papyrus: this could indicate that the Chester Beatty papyrus was copied by the Raifé papyrus (being perhaps its *archetypus* or something similar).¹³

The two determinatives applied to the toponym are interesting under a semantical and -emic point of view: the first determinative, N25, the sandy hill-country, denotes a desert land, different from the Egyptian landscape that was irrigated by the waters of the Nile, and is commonly used to qualify all foreign countries; the second determinative, T14, the throw-stick, is usually interpreted as a sign denoting a foreign country without well-developed military technology (of course, this is the typically Egyptian biased and politically oriented mindset).

Besides the texts of the battle of Kadesh, Kizzuwatna is mentioned twice in the ‘Egyptian-Hittite Treaty’: first, in the list of “die <männlichen> Gottheiten / <(und) die weiblichen Gottheiten > des Landes Qizuwatna”,¹⁴ a passage, from Karnak, §21 (strongly restored by Edel on the comparison with the Akkadian version of the ‘Treaty’), which, leaving aside Edel’s restorations, literally reads *n3 ntr.w n p3 t3 n Qy-d3-w3-d3-n3*^{N25}, ‘the gods of the land of Kizzuwatna’; here the toponym is spelt *Qy-d3-w3-d3-n3*, plus the usual determinative N25. The second mention of Kizzuwatna occurs in the passage about the description of the seals (§29), where the text reads *t3 šrj.t n p3 t3 n Qy-d3-w3-d-n3*^{N25}, ‘the daughter/princess of the land of Kizzuwatna’;¹⁵ here the toponym is spelt, in both the Karnak and Ramesseum versions, as *Qy-d3-w3-d-n3*, plus the determinative N25.

Anticipating our conclusions (see *infra*, section 5), we can state that this is the only toponym in the whole Egyptian documentation that definitely refers to Kizzuwatna.

2.2. Qedy (Qdy/Qdw/Qt)

First of all, Gauthier states about this toponym: “Ce nom paraît avoir désigné d’abord la région vaguement semi-circulaire qui se déroule tout autour du golfe d’Issos (ou golfe d’Alexandrette), entre la mer et le Taurus [la plaine de Cilicie], puis dans la suite la contrée comprise entre ce golfe et l’Euphrate”.¹⁶ Thus, at least for him, Qedy/Qode was in Anatolia.

The land name Qedy/Qode is attested twenty-six times (according to the TLA), to which we have to add another occurrence in the ‘Annals of Thutmose III’ (1479–1425 BC),¹⁷ another attestation from Medinet Habu in the text of the ‘Great Inscription of Year 8’ of the period of Ramses III (1187–1157 BC), and possibly a third one in the ‘Onomasticon of Amenemope’ (these texts will be discussed *infra*). Here is the list of the attestations from the TLA (which I do not report *verbatim*), with the different spellings of the toponym:¹⁸

¹³ On this topic, see Spalinger 2002 (mostly, 327–346) and Von der Way 1984.

¹⁴ Edel 1997: 70–71.

¹⁵ Cf. Edel 1997: 82–83: “8 *t3-šrjt n p3-t3 n Qidwdn* [...] / 8 der Tochter des Landes Kizzuwatna”.

¹⁶ Gauthier 1928: 179–180.

¹⁷ Chronology according to Hornung–Krauss–Warburton 2006.

¹⁸ I keep here the original German version of the TLA, omitting the quotation marks. Furthermore, it is worth stressing that attestations 4–14 come from the same two documents, i.e. the ‘Bulletin’ and the ‘Poem’

1. *qdj*, Brief, an Tote und Götter, oGardiner 310, Bitte des Hor-nefer an Amun-Re (line [5]);¹⁹
2. *qdj*, Koptos, Stele Ramses II., 2. hethitische Heirat (line [9]);²⁰
3. *qdw*, Abu Simbel, Großer Tempel, Qadesch-Schlacht Bulletin (I) (line [20]);²¹
4. *qt*, Theben, pBM 10683 (Chester Beatty III, verso 1–3), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (ChB1 + ChB2) (line [ChB1 verso 3,7]);²²
5. *qdw*, Theben, Ramesseum, Erster Pylon, Westseite, Qadesch-Schlacht Bulletin (R1) (line [11]);²³
6. *qdj*, Abydos, Millionenjahrhaus Ramses II., Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (A) (line [2]);²⁴
7. *qdw*, Karnak, Amun-Bezirk, Hof III - IV, Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (K2) (line [2]);
8. *qdj*, Karnak, Amun-Bezirk, Hypostyl (Außen)/Südwand, Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (K1) (line [11]);
9. *qdj*, Luxor-Tempel, Pylon Ramses II., Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (L1) (line [2]);
10. *qdj*, Luxor-Tempel, Pylon Ramses II., Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (L1) (line [14]);²⁵
11. *qdw*, Luxor-Tempel, Pylon Ramses II., Qadesch-Schlacht Bulletin (L1) (line [14]);
12. *qdw*, Luxor-Tempel, Hof Ramses II., Ostwand und Südwand (Außen), Qadesch-Schlacht Bulletin (L2) (line [12]);²⁶
13. *qdj*, Luxor-Tempel, Hof Ramses II., Ostwand und Südwand (Außen), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (L2) (line [2]);
14. *qdj*, Luxor-Tempel, Hof Ramses II., Ostwand und Südwand (Außen), Qadesch-Schlacht Poem (L2) (line [14]);
15. *qdj*, pAnastasi III-A = pBM EA 10246/6 (Miscellanies), Brief mit Vorbereitungen für den Empfang des Pharaos (line [2]);²⁷
16. *qdj*, pAnastasi III-A = pBM EA 10246/6 (Miscellanies), Brief mit Vorbereitungen für den Empfang des Pharaos (line [5]);²⁸
17. *qdj*, pAnastasi III-A = pBM EA 10246/6 (Miscellanies), Brief mit Vorbereitungen für den Empfang des Pharaos (line [8]);
18. *qdj*, pAnastasi II = pBM EA 10243 (Miscellanies), recto 1.1–2.5: Lob auf Piramesse (line [2.2]);²⁹

of the battle of Kadesh (cf. *supra*, section 2.1). Some adaptations from the original records of the TLA have been made by the present author.

¹⁹ Hieroglyphic edition in Černý–Gardiner 1957: Pl. 50.2; translation in Allam 1973: 190–191; cf. also the translation in Wente 1990: 219.

²⁰ *KRI* II: 282–283; *KRITA* II: 110–112; *KRITANC* II: 163–165; cf. Kitchen–Gaballa 1969: 14–18, Figs 1–2.

²¹ *KRI* II: 102–128; *KRITA* II: 14–18; *KRITANC* II: 3–55.

²² *KRI* II: 2–101; *KRITA* II: 2–14; *KRITANC* II: 3–54; cf. Gardiner 1935: 7–27, Pls 9–10.

²³ *KRI* II: 102–128; *KRITA* II: 14–18; *KRITANC* II: 3–55.

²⁴ For nos 6–9, see *KRI* II: 2–101; *KRITA* II: 2–14; *KRITANC* II: 3–54.

²⁵ For no. 10–11, see *KRI* II: 102–128; *KRITA* II: 14–18; *KRITANC* II: 3–55.

²⁶ For no. 12–14, see *KRI* II: 2–101; *KRITA* II: 2–14; *KRITANC* II: 3–54.

²⁷ For no. 15–17, see Gardiner 1937: xiv, 33–34a; cf. Caminos 1954: 115–122.

²⁸ This passage is a parallel of no. 23; see note *infra*.

²⁹ Gardiner 1937: xiii–xiv, 12–20a; cf. Caminos 1954: 35–65. This document and that at no. 21 are two versions of the same text reporting part of a fictive letter between the Hittite king and the ruler of Qedy/Qode.

19. *qdj*, pAnastasi III = pBM EA 10246 (Miscellanies), recto 1.11–3.9: Brief mit Loblied auf Piramess (line [3.6]);³⁰
20. [*bqadjb*], pAnastasi V = pBM EA 10244 (Miscellanies), 3.1–2; 4.1: Das Elend der Stationierung im Ausland (line [4.1]);³¹
21. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 6.1–6.10: Lob auf Piramess (line [6.7]);³²
22. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 13.8–17.9: Anweisungen für einen Königsaufenthalt (line [16.1]);³³
23. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 13.8–17.9: Anweisungen für einen Königsaufenthalt (line [16.4]);
24. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 13.8–17.9: Anweisungen für einen Königsaufenthalt (line [16.7]);
25. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 13.8–17.9: Anweisungen für einen Königsaufenthalt (line [17.2]);
26. *qdj*, pAnastasi IV = pBM EA 10249 (Miscellanies), recto 12.5–13.8: Das Elend der Stationierung im Ausland (line [12.11]).³⁴

We can briefly analyse the occurrences of this toponym to find useful information about its location or, at least, some of its features. First of all, the attestations of this toponym concern some goods coming from Qode: in passage no. 1³⁵ (a prayer) a jar (*mn*) of *zrm.t* (a sweet beer made of dates) is mentioned,³⁶ and referenced again in passages no. 16 and 23:³⁷ this is very interesting and noteworthy because it can be considered a clear argument in favour of Simon’s statement that Qedy/Qode cannot be Kizzuwatna: in fact, no dates are attested (either archaeologically or textually) from the region of Kizzuwatna.³⁸ Nevertheless,

³⁰ Gardiner 1937: xiv, 20–32a; cf. Caminos 1954: 67–113.

³¹ Gardiner 1937: 57–57a; cf. Caminos 1954: 225–226, 188–198. This text seems to be a possible, fragmentary duplicate of that at no. 26.

³² Gardiner 1937: xiv–xv, 40–41; cf. Caminos 1954: 153–155.

³³ For nos 22–25, see Gardiner 1937: xiv–xv, 49–54; cf. Caminos 1954: 198–219.

³⁴ See Gardiner 1937: xiv–xv, 48–49; cf. also Caminos 1954: 188–198.

³⁵ References are here established to the aforementioned list of occurrences from the TLA.

³⁶ Transliteration and translations of mine: *jr ptr=y m-dd dj=k hpr wn m-dj=y jw=y r jrj n=k w' mn n zrm.t Qdj m-mj.tt w'-n dz n hmq.t m-mj.tt p3y=y* [...]; ‘If I see that you will stand by me, then I will give you a measure of *zrm.t* of Qedy, and also a *dz*-measure(?) of beer and also my [...]’. For the term *zrm.t*, see Wb III, 463.7–11: ‘Ein Getränk, wohl Art Bier’ (DZA 28.699.680 also advances a possible comparison with the Hebrew term **מֵרָקַח**, *š'maryim*, ‘Hefen’, also supported by the Coptic word **ΣΟΡΜ**, ‘Hefe’, for which see Crum 1939: 355a); cf. Germer 2008: 63: ‘*srmt hprt* = vergorene *srmt*-Dattelflüssigkeit’. The oldest attestation of such a beer seems to be traceable back to the 4th dynasty, in the papyri related to the building of the Great Pyramid at Giza; on this topic, see Tallet–Lehner 2021: 250 (for the edition of the papyri, see Tallet 2017 and Tallet 2021).

³⁷ Transliteration and translations of mine: *p3 z nty jm=sn jw=f'r n3 w'b.wt hr jrj.t hmq.t Qdj n pr-nsu 'nh-wd3-snb srm.t n t3 'n.t*; ‘Whoever of them is a man, he shall go to the houses of trade, and make beer of Qedy for/of the Pharaoh, life-prosperity-health, a *zrm.t* for/of the [?]’. Here, the actual term for beer is *hmq.t*, said to be of Qedy; the term *zrm.t* is mentioned after, but we could infer that it refers to the previously mentioned beer; cf. passage no. 1, where the *zrm.t* is openly said to come from Qedy.

³⁸ The *Phoenix dactylifera* L. was not cultivated in the Anatolian area: see mostly Costantini 1985 and Marston–Castellano 2021: 344, Fig. 26–5; cf. also Chao–Krueger 2007 and Tengberg 2012. See also the very clear geographical distribution map in Zeven–de Wet 1982: 144 (top right, after Oudejans 1969: 244, Fig. 1).

we also have to consider that in some Hittite rituals, dates (^{GI5}IMMAR)³⁹ were used for healing purposes;⁴⁰ they could have either been an import from another area or dates from the *Phoenix theophrasti* L., which was present in Cyprus and South-Western Anatolia.⁴¹ In any event, there is no evidence for cultivation of date palms in the area of Kizzuwatna; thus, Qedy/Qode has to be 1) different from Kizzuwatna and 2) located outside Anatolia.

Continuing our analysis of the textual sources, it is notable that a general, large booty or tribute (*qn.w ʿ3*) is mentioned on the occasion of the ‘Second Hittite Marriage’ (passage no. 2). In the ‘Bulletin’ (passage no. 3), the toponym is attested in the form *Qdw* and the region is included among the enemies of Ramses II in the battle of Kadesh, which are also mentioned (passage no. 4) together with Kizzuwatna (and this is one of the key passages correctly leading Simon to state that Qode cannot be equated to Kizzuwatna). Other passages are about the battle of Kadesh, from both the ‘Bulletin’ (no. 5) and the ‘Poem’ (no. 6), attesting the forms *Qdj* and *Qdw*. Passage no. 7 (from the ‘Poem’), mentions Qode after Karkemish (but this does not necessarily implies a geographic designation). Again, passage no. 8 (from the ‘Poem’) lists Qode together with Kizzuwatna and in passage no. 9 (from the ‘Poem’), Qode is mentioned among other entities related to the Anatolian and northern Syrian area. In passage no. 10 (from the ‘Poem’), Qode again occurs along with Kizzuwatna while, in passage no. 11 (from the ‘Bulletin’), Qode is mentioned just after Aleppo (so maybe hinting at a location in northern Syria, but not necessarily). Passage no. 12 is a similar, parallel passage, again from the ‘Bulletin’ and in passage no. 13 (from the ‘Poem’), Qode is listed between Karkemish and Kadesh. Passage no. 14 (from the ‘Poem’) lists Qode just before the entire land of Nuḫašše, and just after Ugarit. In passages no. 15–16 (a letter) beer (*ḥnq.t*) coming from Qode is again mentioned, while in passage no. 17 (from the same letter), servants (*b3k.w*) from Qode are attested (a particular which could hint at people coming from a territory under Egyptian dominance). Passage no. 18, taken from a New Kingdom fictional letter, is said to have been written by the Hittite Great King (*wr ʿ3*) to the king/ruler (*wr*, literally ‘great one’) of Qode; thus, at least, we could perhaps infer that Qode had a king, even if the letter is considered to be fictitious. Passage no. 19 (from a celebratory letter) again mentions beer from Qode, coming from a ‘harbour’ (*mnj.t*); hence, we can at least assume that Qode had a port, a feature attested also in passages no. 22–23 (from a praise of Piramesse and a document about preparation for the arrival of the pharaoh). Passage no. 21 (from the same document) is a parallel of the previously seen passage no. 18 (the fictional letter). In passage no. 24 (from the document regarding the arrival of the pharaoh), we find again servants from Qode (*b3k.w*) along with “*mry*-Koniferenholz”; we may, therefore, argue that the region of Qode was rich in this material. In passage no. 25 (from the same document), other products from Qode are beautiful wooden whips, with thongs made of red *jns*-linen, ‘their tips with inlaid of Qedy’ (*n3y=sn ḥ3w.tj m mh n Qdj*). Eventually, in passage no. 26, we find again the mention of beer (*ḥnq.t*) from Qode.

³⁹ HZL: 26, no. 70; cf. Tischler 2001: 228.

⁴⁰ Turgut 2019: 26.

⁴¹ Gros-Balthazard et al. 2013: 11, Fig. 1. On the difference between the two types of date palms, see Zeven-de Wet 1982: 144.

A.H. Gardiner recognised Qedy/Qode as a region in Northern Syria, probably between Karkemish and the Mediterranean, located to the North of Amor (which was along the coast of Zimyra), in an area probably reaching the Gulf of Issus but “apparently extending a good deal further to the East than Kizzuwatna”.⁴² Thus, according to Gardiner, we should search for Qedy/Qode to the North of Amor, located by the scholar in Northern Lebanon (see map in Gardiner 1947, Vol. 1: 133*).

S. Smith⁴³ argued for the location of Qode in the Gulf of Issus, a location (as we have seen) retained also by Gauthier in 1928 and mentioned by Gardiner as well in 1947. Nevertheless, if we return to the oldest attestation of this toponym, which is in the ‘Annals of Thutmose III’ (1479–1425 BC), in an account (*Urk.* IV: 649) regarding a battle in the land of *Jhm* (located by Blumenthal, Müller, and Reineke around the modern Jimma),⁴⁴ to the South-West of the Carmel Mount, Qode is mentioned together with another region, *Hrw*, being part of a coalition led by Kadesh; the text reads literally: ‘(Captive people of) *Hrw* (and captive people of) *Qdw*, their horses, their armies, their people’ (*H3rw.w Qdw.w ssm.wt=sn mš^c.w=sn rmt=sn*); in my opinion, the use of A13 sign (the man with arms tied behind his back) to determine both *Qdw.w* and *H3rw.w*, and the plural/collective form of these terms could suggest that *Qdw.w* and *H3rw.w* were considered as ethnonyms and not toponyms, at least in the period of Thutmose III.

Also A. Spalinger faced the problem of the identification and location of Qode:⁴⁵ considering the monumental texts and the account of the battle of Kadesh in the Raifé papyrus, he noticed that Qode/Qadi is listed between Ugarit and Nuḥašše, and therefore concluded that Qode must be located in Syria, between Ugarit and the inland territory of Nuḥašše, south of Aleppo.

Moreover, a passage in the ‘Onomasticon of Amenemope’ is notable, catching the attention of M. Weippert;⁴⁶ in fact, in the ‘Onomasticon’, some lands are listed in the following order: Kaška, Danuna, Ḫatti, an unreadable toponym, Lukka, Pidašša, Arzawa, Karkemish, *Qd*, Kadesh and a final place name which is difficult to identify. Nevertheless, this passage draws our attention to at least two points: 1) *Qd* seems to be located outside Anatolia, between Karkemish and Kadesh (the order of listing seems to be somehow anti-clockwise); 2) Danuna (for which see *infra*, section 2.4) is different from Qedy (the former probably located in Anatolia, the latter in Syria, at least according to their position in the sequence of toponyms). In the same contribution, Weippert also identified an Ugaritic equivalent to the Egyptian *Qd/Qt*, i.e. ‘Qt’;⁴⁷ Simon summarised Weippert’s argument,

⁴² Gardiner 1947, Vol. 1: 134*–136*.

⁴³ Smith 1922.

⁴⁴ Blumenthal–Müller–Reineke 1984: 190: “Leute von Syrien und *Qd-j*, ihre Pferde, ihre Krieger, ihr Troßvolk”; cf. also *ibid.*, notes 6 and 7: “Heute Jimma am Südwestabhang des Karmel [...]. Wahrscheinlich der Staat Kizzuwatna (keilschr.) im späteren Kilikien an der Südwüste Anatoliens”.

⁴⁵ Spalinger 2002: 191–193.

⁴⁶ Weippert 1969.

⁴⁷ Cf. Belmonte Marín 2001: 229–230: “Evtl. ein Land von dem an Ugarit angrenzenden Mukiš/Alalah nach Weippert 1969: 49. Anders Dietrich – Loretz 1980: 390 ‘das östliche/südöstliche Nachbarland von Ugarit im Orontesbecken’ und de Moor – Sanders 1991: 293: ‘It would be easier to understand if the wild Gutium (Qutium) are meant who were a literary topos already in Babylonian literature’. [...] Vgl. ferner äg. Qdy [...]”.

underlining how the Egyptian toponym could perfectly be equated to the Ugaritic one, even stressing that the location of this toponym was likely in northern Syria.⁴⁸

Furthermore, in the same paper, Weippert also suggested a possible equation between Qode and the toponym Qadê (KUR [māt] qa-de-e) attested in a document of Ashurbanipal (669–631 BC);⁴⁹ this land has been located in “Kleinasien” by Thompson or “mit mehr Recht in Arabien” by Oppenheim;⁵⁰ if Weippert is right in equating Qode with Qadê, taking into consideration the timespan between New Kingdom and Ashurbanipal, I find quite difficult (for the reasons explained in this section) to accept Thompson’s location of this place in Asia Minor.

The last attestation of Qode is in the ‘Great Inscription of Year 8’ in the reign of Ramses III, carved at Medinet Habu and dealing with the sea battle against the “Sea Peoples” (ca. 1180 BC);⁵¹ here, at least following Kitchen’s translation,⁵² Qode, Karkemish, Arzawa, and Alašiya are considered a part of the Hittite empire (or, more likely, that they were part of the same confederation fighting the Egyptians); even though, as stressed in Simon, there is no indication that Qode was actually located in Anatolia.

Moving to some etymological speculations, we could maybe infer a possible derivation of *Qdw* from *Qdw* (the ‘abbreviated’ form for Kizzuwatna we have seen above) and consider *Qdy* a variant spelling. But there are at least two phonetic issues with this hypothesis: 1) we would have to consider a depalatalization of the dental (that is *d* > *d*), however this feature does not represent a problem, since depalatalization is already attested in Egyptian at least from the Middle Kingdom; 2) the two terms (i.e., Kizzuwatna and Qedy) are attested in the very same passage in pBM 10683 (Chester Beatty III, verso 1–3) and parallels of the ‘Poem’ of Kadesh (as already pointed out in Simon 2011). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in the passages where Kizzuwatna and Qode are mentioned together, the former is spelt *Qdw* and the latter *Qt*, or even as *Qdwdn* and *Qdj*, respectively. From this evidence, we can state one fact for certain: the forms *Qdw* (as Kizzuwatna) and *Qdw* (as Qode) are never attested together in the very same text: possibly, the Egyptian scribes differentiated the two so clearly because they already knew that they were two different entities (another point in favour of Simon’s argument).

A second hypothesis could involve the possibility that the toponym Qode was of Semitic origin: perhaps related to the Hebrew קִדְמָה, *qēdēm*, ‘the East’ (literally, ‘that is before’, cf. also the Akkadian *qadma/qudmu*, and the Ugaritic *qdm*, same meaning). Possibly *Qdy* could come from *Qdm*, ‘the East’ (i.e., the territories to the East of Egypt), a general term

⁴⁸ Simon 2011: 255–257.

⁴⁹ Cylinder BM 122616; text in Thompson 1940: 106, no. 33, l. 12’, Fig. 18 (reading “^{māt}Qa-di-e”); cf. RINAP 5, no. 21, l. 20’; another attestation is on a slab carrying an inscription from the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh: see RINAP 5, no. 23, l. 133 (also dating to Ashurbanipal). Cf. also Zadok 1985: 253 (“Qadū: qa-de-e^{ki}”, mentioned in a text dating to Darius I).

⁵⁰ Weippert 1969: 50.

⁵¹ Breasted 1930: Pls 45–46.

⁵² *KRI V*: 39, 16–17, 1; cf. *KRITA V*: 34: “¹⁶ [...] (As for) the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in battle, were the lands at one time. No land could stand up against (‘before’) their arms, beginning from Hatti – Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and ¹⁷Alasia, cut off (all) at [once] in one [place]” (Qedy/Qode is here spelt as *Qdy*).

to denote the Syrian domains under the Egyptian control. From *Qdm*, with an apocope of <-m> and the later grammaticalization as an attributive *nisbe*, Egyptian could have created the term *Qd(.y)/Qt(y)*, in some instances with the desonorization of the dental (i.e., <d> shifts to <t>). Nevertheless, there are at least two counterarguments to this reconstruction: 1) is it possible that a Semitic term was at the origin of this process? And 2) how is it possible to explain the eventual or alleged dropping of <-m> (which is not a simple mimation but the third radical of the toponym)? The toponym *Qdm* (as already pointed out by Gardiner) is in fact undefinable; the TLA simply comments: “(Qedem) Stadtstaat (?) in Syrien”. This term is also attested in the ‘Tale of Sinuhe’, where it is interpreted by J. Allen as Qatna.⁵³ Is it possible that *Qdm* later evolved (as explained previously) into *Qdy*? In a few words, could *Qdy* be Qatna? I see here at least two issues: 1) the phonetical shift (*QṬN > *QDM) is difficult to explain phonologically (maybe from ^{URU}*Qa-ṭa-nim*^{KI} attested, e.g., at Mari in the Middle Bronze Age; but in the Late Bronze Age, e.g. at Alalakh, the term for this city is ^{URU}*Qa-ṭà-na* or ^{URU}*Qàṭ-at-na*; in EA 52–53, 55, 57, letters of Abimilku of Tyre, the toponym is spelt ^{URU}*Qat-na*^{KI}, ^{URU}*Qàṭ-na* and *Qàṭ-na*^{KI}, following Rainey’s edition).⁵⁴ Furthermore, in Egyptian Qatna is usually spelt *Qdn*.⁵⁵ Maybe the toponym shifted to *Qdy* (as per the process described earlier for *Qdm*) from *Qdn*, with the apocope of <-n>; even though I have to admit that this reconstruction is highly speculative. 2) In the Anastasi III papyrus (i.e., BM EA 10246) there is a mention of ‘the harbour’ (*t3 mnj.t*) of Qedy; hence my question: did Qatna have a river harbour, being situated nearby three tributary wadis of the Orontes (Wadi Mydan, Wadi Zorat, Wadi Slik)? Maybe it was something like a *kārum*, which does not necessarily have to be located along a river or a sea (cf., e.g., Kültepe/Kanesh); of course, I leave all these speculations and hypotheses opened to further discussions and remarks.

To summarise what we have learned about Qode, while recalling Simon’s conclusions: 1) Qode cannot be equated to Kizzuwatna;⁵⁶ 2) Qode can be identified with the Ugaritic toponym ‘Qṭ’ and the Egyptian *Qd(j/w)/Qd*; 3) the precise location of Qode still cannot be identified: nonetheless, it was very likely located in northern Syria, maybe in the land of Naharina/Mittani.⁵⁷

2.3. Ḫwṣt

In a topographical list from the time of Ramses II from the temple of Luxor,⁵⁸ after some Syrian and Mesopotamian toponyms we find at the end of the list the mention of *Ḫwṣt* (no. 14), *Jrt(w)* (no. 15), and *Ḫtṣ* (no. 16, the same as no. 6); while the identification of the two last geographical names is ensured (they are in fact Arzawa and Ḫatti), the toponym no. 14, *Ḫwṣt*, is usually thought to refer to Cilicia. Simons left the term untranslated.

⁵³ Allen 2015: 75–76.

⁵⁴ Schniedewind–Cochavi-Rainey 2015.

⁵⁵ Ahrens 2004; cf. Gardiner 1947, Vol 1: 166*.

⁵⁶ Even though, Bányai 2022 still supported such an equation.

⁵⁷ Simon 2011: 263.

⁵⁸ Simons 1937: 70–71, 155–156 [list XXIIg].

Regardless, this toponym seems to refer to a region included in the Hittite sphere of influence, since it is typical of the Egyptian topographical lists to mention small entities first and then, at the end, the major entity they belonged to.

E. Edel strengthened this idea of identification and location,⁵⁹ reading this toponym as *Hw* and interpreting it as referring to “Kilikien”, establishing a comparison with the Neo-Babylonian toponym *Hu-me-e*, which was attested in the tenth year of Nabopolassar (i.e., 616 BC), and with the Neo-Assyrian *Qawel/Que* of the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC). Furthermore, according to Edel, the term would be also attested in KBo I 22 Rs. 13 (letter of Ramses II to Ḫattušili III = CTH 156.A = ÄHK 24), “DUMU.MEŠ KUR *Qa-a-[ú-e]*”, “die Söhne des Landes *Qa[we]*”. This reading has been correctly criticised in Simon 2011, since on the tablet it is actually possible to read only a <qa> sign and maybe the top of two vertical wedges representing <a>. Nevertheless, all these comparisons led Edel to interpret the Egyptian toponym *Hwšt/Hw* as ‘Cilicia’. Simon, in the end, does not fully accept this interpretation, keeping the reading of the Egyptian text, but questions that idea in KBo I 22, where he states that the Egyptian *Hw* could perfectly stand for the Hittite/Luwian toponym Ḫiyawa, stressing that Qode has to be identified with Ḫiyawa, and advancing an equation between the northern Syrian toponym ‘Qāṭe’, the Ugaritic ‘Qṭ’, and Qode itself.⁶⁰ In any event, the question about the actual location of Qode is still open, even if I would suggest (cf. supra, section 2.2) that the most likely location is probably in northern Syria.

2.4. Dnn

The last toponym I am going to discuss is *Dnn*, commonly vocalised as ‘Danuna’; we can focus our attention on five sources, spanning the 14th to the 8th cent. BC.

The first source is EA 151, a letter from the king of Tyre Abimilku writing to the pharaoh, who mentions in line 52 a “LUGAL KUR *Da-nu-na*” who is dead (BA.ÚŠ).⁶¹ In his commentary, Rainey states: “Abimilku responds to a request for information from Canaan by reporting events that took place in cities and states that were not themselves in Canaan, viz. Danuna, Ugarit, Kedesh (on the Orontes) and Amurru”.⁶² Leaving aside the textual problem of how to interpret the preposition *ištu* in line 50 before “KUR *Ki-na-ab-na*”, we can consult other commentaries on this passage; Moran did not advance any notes,⁶³ while Liverani, in his Italian edition of the Amarna letters, wrote: “I Danuna, uno dei ‘popoli del mare’, vanno localizzati in Cilicia”⁶⁴ and quotes a paper by Laroche;⁶⁵ nevertheless, in the final index of toponyms, Liverani considers, even if doubtfully, Danuna as “Paese in Siria; forse i Danuna di Cilicia (uno dei ‘popoli del mare’)”.⁶⁶ There is a bit of confusion:

⁵⁹ Edel 1975: 64–65 [no. 10].

⁶⁰ Simon 2011: 260, 262–263. On the problem of the identification of Ḫiyawa/Que, cf. Bryce 2016.

⁶¹ Schniedewind–Cochavi-Rainey 2015, Vol. 1: 764–765.

⁶² Schniedewind–Cochavi-Rainey 2015, Vol. 2: 1502.

⁶³ Moran 1992: 238–239.

⁶⁴ Liverani 1998: 158, fn. 44.

⁶⁵ Laroche 1958.

⁶⁶ Liverani 1999: 466, *sub voce*.

if Liverani states that “Danuna” is a country (as evident from the Sumerogram KUR) in Syria, how can he then, and in the very same sentence, consider “Danuna” an ethnonym referring to the Danuna of Cilicia?

The second interesting source attesting the term KUR *Dá-nu-ú-na* is KBo XXVIII 25 (= ÄHK 31),⁶⁷ a letter sent by Ramses II to Hattušili III, to enquire about the actual whereabouts of Urhi-Tešob/Muršili III; interestingly the toponym ‘Danuna’ is mentioned just before Halba (Aleppo) and Qinsa (Qadesh), all places in Syria. Nonetheless, Edel, in commenting on this letter, states that “Das ‚Land Danūna‘ steht hier anstelle von ‚Land Kizwatna‘”,⁶⁸ referring then to KBo I 15+ (a fragment joining the already mentioned KBo I 22 = CTH 156.A = ÄHK 24, mentioning the DUMU.MEŠ KUR *Qa-a-[ú-e]*) and also to EA 151 (discussed *supra*).

The third evidence comes from Medinet Habu, in the first court after the entrance pylon, in a scene where Ramses III is depicted as offering to the god Amun-Re the subjugated ‘Sea Peoples’; the very well-known text reads: “My arm has laid low those who came to ‘aggrandize’, (for) themselves – namely the Philistines (*Peleset*), Danuna and Shaklusha”;⁶⁹ here the toponym ‘Danuna’ is spelt as *D3-jn-jw-n3*, plus the determinatives T14 and A1b (already seen); in 1958, E. Laroche wrote about the Danuna, recognising them as people from Cilicia, basing this interpretation on the Karatepe inscription of Asatiwada, which is discussed hereafter.⁷⁰

The next source is the KARATEPE bilingual inscription of Azatiwada, dated to the end of the 8th cent. BC or to the beginning of the 7th cent. BC.⁷¹ The text is a Luwian-Phoenician bilingual; the Luwian version of orthostat Hu1 (North Gate) reads: “I am Azatiwadas, the Sun God’s man, servant of Tarhunzas, whom Awarikus, king of Adanawa, made great”;⁷² here, the toponym is spelt *á-TANA-wa/i-ni-i-sá*(URBS); to be noticed that it is a real toponym, the name of a city, as is clear from the presence of the determinative URBS. The Phoenician version of orthostat Phu/AI (North Gate) states: “I am Azatiwadas, the *abarakku* of Ba’al, servant of Ba’al, whom Awarikku, king of the Danunians, made powerful”;⁷³ here, instead of a toponym, we find the ethnonym DNNYM, literally ‘those of Danuna’, hence ‘Danunians’.

Our last source is the ‘Onomasticon of Amenemope’ (dating to the 21st–22nd dyn., i.e. ca. 11th–10th cent. BC), where we find the term *Dnn*, commented by Gardiner as follows: “[...] it is highly unlikely that at so early a date Danaans were anywhere in the neighbourhood of those countries {i.e., Canaan and Tyre, referring to EA 151} [...]”.⁷⁴ Thus, for

⁶⁷ Edel 1994, Vol. 1: 84–85 [no. 31 = D12].

⁶⁸ Edel 1994, Vol. 2: 139.

⁶⁹ *KRI* V: 35–37; *KRITA* V: 31–32.

⁷⁰ Laroche 1958: 263.

⁷¹ For images, see HM: <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/karatepe/> (last access: 25th January 2024). About the dating of the inscription, see Hawkins 2000, Vol. 1: 69; cf. also the discussion in Simon 2014: 95–100 and Novák 2021.

⁷² Payne 2012: 21, 39; cf. Hawkins 2000, Vol. 1: 45–68.

⁷³ Çambel 1999: 50–51.

⁷⁴ Gardiner 1947, Vol. 1: 125*.

Gardiner the Danuna of EA 151 and the *Dnn* of Ramses III cannot be the Greek *Δαναοί* (the same as Laroche's idea), supported also in Simon 2011.⁷⁵

Anyhow, leaving aside any further speculations, I would like to summarise the whole topic of the Danuna agreeing with the *résumé* provided by Simon: 1) the location of Danuna in Cilicia has to be excluded; 2) documents like EA 151 and ÄHK 31 show that Danuna was located in Canaan or in north-western Syria, North of Ugarit; 3) Danuna and DNNYM/Denyen are two different entities (the former, a 14th cent. BC kingdom in the area of modern Hatay, the latter a group of Aegean immigrants who reached Cilicia in later times).⁷⁶

3. KIZZUWATNA IN THE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

3.1. *The Amarna letters*

The following topic will be treated very briefly: there is no mention of Kizzuwatna in the Amarna letters; this is clearly understandable, since the Amarna archive covers a period spanning the reign of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (i.e. 1390–1336 BC), a time-span following the end of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna around 1400 BC.

3.2. *The Egyptian-Hittite Correspondence (Ramesside Period)*

In the other important *corpus* of letters of the Ramesside period, i.e. the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence, we can find the mention of both Egypt and Kizzuwatna only in one letter, KUB III 62 = ÄHK 29, addressed to Ḫattušili III by Ramses II; the topic of the letter is the possible location of Urḫi-Teššob/Muršili III.⁷⁷ Again, as in the already seen ÄHK 31 (where the toponym 'Danuna' was attested), here, instead of 'Danuna', in the very same passage, strangely, we find Kizzuwatna (even if in Edel's restoration) mentioned just before 'Halbā' and 'Qinsa', i.e. Aleppo and Qadesh. Here we can envisage two possibilities (of course if Edel's restoration is reliable): 1) that the text is to be considered formulaic, a pharaonic misunderstanding or even a historical lapsus, but this implies that we would have a mention of Kizzuwatna in the 13th cent. with a local king (see lines 17–18: "LUGAL / KUR *Ki-iz-ua-at-na*"); or 2) that Kizzuwatna and Danuna are the same entity; if so, since Kizzuwatna is surely not in Syria (and the mention of this entity together with Aleppo and Kadesh is a bit odd, geographically speaking), therefore we would have to assume that also Danuna was not necessarily in Syria, *contra* what we have previously said (cf. *supra*, section 2.4). Anyhow, I maintain that Simon's conclusion is the most likely, in stating that these texts are not parallels and therefore there is no reason to equate Kizzuwatna and Danuna.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ On this topic, see also Oreshko 2018; about Adanawa, cf. the discussion in Yakubovich 2015a, with the reply in Hawkins 2015, and the counterargument in Yakubovich 2015b.

⁷⁶ Simon 2015: 400.

⁷⁷ Edel 1994, Vol. 1: 78–81 [no. 29 = D10].

⁷⁸ Simon 2011: 258.

4. A PROBLEMATIC AND CONTROVERSIAL SOURCE

Finally, I would like to present a ‘problematic source’ regarding possible contacts between Egypt and Anatolia in very early times, in a region that some scholars have identified, even if a bit anachronistically, with Kizzuwatna. In the ‘Tale of Sinuhe’, dated to the Middle Kingdom (12th dyn., reign of Senusret III or Amenemhat III, ca. 1859–1840 BC), the story of ‘the son of the sycamore’ (*s3-nh.t*, i.e. Sinuhe) is told, who fled Egypt and lived for a long time in Canaan. The story is set in the reign of Senusret I and Amenemhat II (in the first two centuries of the 2nd mill. BC). In Episode 21, according to J. Allen’s edition,⁷⁹ in a passage of the letter sent by Sinuhe to the pharaoh, there is mention of a land which is ‘in front of/to the south of’ (Egyptian *hnt*) a place named *Kṯw* (other later parallels attest this toponym as *Kšw*). Allen asserts that in this passage there are three terms which could be considered a Semitic, Luwian, and Hurrian designation for ‘king/ruler’ (i.e., *mjkj*, *hntjwdjwš*, and *mnnus*, respectively);⁸⁰ I leave aside the discussion regarding these terms, which are in some other translations rendered as toponyms, even if this hypothesis is not plausible for two reasons: 1) after the names there is the determinative A1 (the seated man) and 2) because the pharaoh asks Sinuhe to bring to him, in Egypt, these three entities and it is certainly not possible to move lands. Allen considers the toponym *Kṯw* in the following: “The place name is then most likely Kizzu, the area of Luvian [*sic*] supremacy, in the southeastern part of Turkey”.⁸¹ T. Schneider, in a paper published in 2002, accepted Allen’s readings, translating the passage regarding our toponym as “Der hantawattis (luwisch ‚Herrscher‘) aus dem Süden von Kaṣizza (dem Kawäischen Land)”.⁸² *Contra* this hypothesis stand the perplexities of H. Goedicke (defining Schneider’s reading an “ingenous [*sic*] interpretation”),⁸³ and Simon 2011, who (after an indisputable phonetical discussion on the term) labels Schneider’s interpretation as “highly implausible” and “hardly a convincing assumption”.⁸⁴ Even though Schneider’s interpretation is very captivating, nonetheless I agree with Simon’s argumentation and I think we do not have enough strong evidence to equate *Kṯw* with Kizzuwatna in the text of the ‘Tale of Sinuhe’.⁸⁵

5. CONCLUSIONS

All in all, we can draft some preliminary conclusions, which will probably leave more open questions than ironclad answers:

1. the only Egyptian toponym definitely referring to Kizzuwatna is *Qd(w)dn/Qigwdn/Qdw*;

⁷⁹ Allen 2015: 128–129.

⁸⁰ Allen 2015: 129.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Schneider 2002: 266.

⁸³ Goedicke 2004: 18–19.

⁸⁴ Simon 2011: 262.

⁸⁵ Nonetheless, some scholars still interpret the toponym as referring to Kizzuwatna; see e.g. De Vos 2004 and Starke 2019.

2. the toponym *Qdj/Qdw/Qt* (= Qedy/Qode) seems to refer not to Cilicia but to an even less definable entity in northern Syria;
3. the meaning and identification of the Egyptian toponym *Qdj/Qdw/Qt* must still be further investigated (and hopefully also better located):
 - a) a derivation from *Qdw* (= Kizzuwatna) [*Qdw* > *Qdw* > *Qdy*] seems to be very unlikely;
 - b) a stemming from *Qdm* [*Qdm* > *Qdm* > *Qdy*] ('the East') is highly speculative and uncertain;
 - c) the hypothesis of equating Qedy/Qode with Qatna is also very shaky, because of phonetical issues (in Egyptian, Qatna is usually *Qdn* and the shift *Qdn* > *Qdm* > *Qdy* is also highly speculative);
 - d) the mention of the *zrm.t* beer (a kind of beer made of dates) from *Qdj* on Gardiner 310 could be helpful in better locating Qedy/Qode or, at least, excluding some unlikely places (such as Cilicia, where no dates were produced);
4. from the 'Onomasticon of Amenemope', it seems clear that *Danuna* and *Qdj* are definitely two different geographical entities;
5. the toponym *Hwʒt* has to be discarded as a reference to Kizzuwatna or Cilicia (*pace* Edel);
6. the toponym *Dnn* seems to refer, in the 14th–13th cent. BC, to a region in northern Syria; maybe, only the toponym in the inscription of Ramses III could be related to Cilicia;
7. the toponym *Kṯw/Kšw*, attested in the 'Tale of Sinuhe', cannot be equated with Kizzuwatna or Cilicia (*pace* Allen, Schneider, De Vos, and Starke).

Despite the many questions still left open to discussion and further investigation, I do hope the present contribution, which had as its first aim stating the current *status quaestionis* on toponyms referring to Kizzuwatna, will provide scholars of both Egypt and the Ancient Near East with a clearer framework in this area as attested in the pharaonic documentation, leading to an increase in interdisciplinary studies on this and many other topics, which will certainly benefit from such a wide spectrum of analysis and investigation.

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“INTO THE MOUNTAINS AND DOWN TO THE SEA”

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Abstract

This article develops an interpretation of KpT 1.11, one of several tablet fragments bearing Hurrian texts found at Kayalıpınar, ancient Šamuḫa. In this fragment, probably a copy inscribed at Šamuḫa, a first-person narrator recounts an apparently historical tale involving a pair of emissaries named Ehli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma, as well as other personages and deities, in particular Tešob and Kizzuwatnean Ḫebat. The action takes place mainly in Kizzuwatna, whence Ehli-Tenu travels to the land of Muḡiš and then to Mittani. The conjuncture of places, persons, deities, and deeds point to the time of Tudḫaliya I, and I suggest that the narrator is Sunaššura, who tells his new Hittite sovereign of the events surrounding his change of allegiance.

INTRODUCTION

Seven fragments of Hurrian texts are among the dozens of cuneiform tablets excavated at Kayalıpınar, the site of ancient Šamuḫa, which served as a royal residence during the reigns of Tudḫaliya I (late 15th century) and II (early-to-mid-14th century). Among the Hurrian fragments, which include mythic and ritual texts, the most substantial is KpT 1.11.¹

¹ This tablet fragment, bearing the excavation number Kp 05/226, was first made known in the report of the 2005 season of excavations at Kayalıpınar (Müller-Karpe et al. 2006), wherein Gernot Wilhelm provided a preliminary description, including select passages and photographs (Wilhelm 2006: 233–236, with Fig. 14). A copy accompanied by Wilhelm’s transliteration and preliminary translation was published by Elisabeth Rieken (2009), together with the other tablet fragments found at Kayalıpınar up to 2006. Kp 05/226 received the number KpT 1.11 in the comprehensive publication of cuneiform texts found at Kayalıpınar during the 1999–2017 excavations, to which Wilhelm (2019) contributed an edition of the Hurrian texts (with annotations but without translations). On the identification of Kayalıpınar as Šamuḫa see Müller-Karpe 2017: 58, 61–62.

The present work depends on the collaboration of colleagues as well as institutional support. Gernot Wilhelm first introduced Kp 05/226 to me in 2007, when I was studying Hurrian in Würzburg during my first sabbatical leave from the University of Minnesota; over the years since, he has generously shared photographs of the fragment and observations on its text. A fellowship in 2019–2020 with the Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe “Rethinking Oriental Despotism” (FOR 2615), funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and directed by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Jörg Klinger at the Freie Universität Berlin, gave me the opportunity to collaborate with Sebastian Fischer in studying this text. Mauro Giorgieri and Mark Weeden were consulted on various points, and their input is gratefully acknowledged. Further development of Fischer’s and my interpretation was occasioned by Andrea Trameri’s invitation to the Kizzuwatna conference in Leiden; my participation in the conference was facilitated by a sabbatical leave granted by the University of Minnesota for 2022–2023. Finally, I thank the editors and anonymous referee for their suggestions, and Fischer for reading and correcting drafts. It remains only to be noted that any errors in the article you are reading are mine alone.

The text of this fragment recounts an intriguing tale, apparently historical, whose principal setting was the land of Kizzuwatna. The tablet itself was probably written at Šamuḫa, where it was found; like the other Hurrian material found there, it was inscribed in a fine Middle Hittite hand by a scribe trained in the writing conventions in use at Ḫattuša.² The seven Hurrian fragments found at Kayalıpınar have seven different findspots, mainly in Level 3, which is dated to the reign of Tudḫaliya II on the basis of evidence that includes a sealing of Kantuzzili; meanwhile, the preceding Level 4 is dated to his grandfather's reign by a sealing of Tudḫaliya I and Nikkalmadi; and one Hurrian fragment with a findspot in Level 2 (KpT 1.32) mentions Tudḫaliya II under his Hurrian name Tašme-Šarri.³ As to KpT 1.11, which its editor Gernot Wilhelm has attributed to the reign of Tudḫaliya II, the excavators report that this fragment was found within the Level 3 rebuilding of Building B in what appears to have been fill derived from Level 4 – in which case the tablet would instead belong to the time of Tudḫaliya I – but they allow that the fragment's location may have been disturbed by the digging of a Byzantine grave.⁴ In script and orthography, KpT 1.11 so closely resembles KpT 1.14, a fragment of (apparently) the Song of Silver, that the two tablets could have been written by the same scribe; KpT 1.14 was found in Building A (Level 3), in fill that may also derive from Level 4.⁵

Whether KpT 1.11 was written during the earlier or the later king's reign, what was the historical context of the tale it tells? What kind of text is it? And what kind of tale does it tell?

Because the tablet's beginning and end are missing, as well as most of both the right and left edges, and because historical narrative in Hurrian is otherwise virtually unknown, none of these questions could readily be answered even if the Hurrian text could be fully understood. Regarding the text's genre, discussion to date has considered principally two alternatives: either a historical composition, perhaps an annalistic work, or, given that it contains first- and second-person forms, a letter containing passages of historical narrative.⁶ The places mentioned in the text include Alalah, Kizzuwatna, and Mittani, which suggests a setting circa 1400, during the reign of Tudḫaliya I.⁷ The story involves several named personages, all of whom are otherwise unknown (but for one who may be identifiable).

² On the Middle Hittite script of KpT 1.11 and other Hurrian Kayalıpınar fragments see Wilhelm 2006: 233; Rieken 2009: 130, 133; and Wilhelm 2019: 197, 199.

³ The locations of all tablet finds are discussed, illustrated, and catalogued by Andreas Müller-Karpe and Vuslat Müller-Karpe (2019); see pp. 2–3 for the dating of Levels 4 and 3, and for the findspot of KpT 1.32 (Kp 14/17), see Plan 2 and p. 12.

⁴ Müller-Karpe–Müller-Karpe 2019: 5–6, with reference to Wilhelm's evolving considerations regarding the dating of KpT 1.11. His attribution to Tudḫaliya II has been followed by others, most recently Giusfredi–Pisaniello–Matessi (2023: 182–183, also Giusfredi–Pisaniello 2023: 264, 278, but cf. Matessi 2023: 147), who refer to this king as Tuthaliya III (although numbering his grandfather as Tuthaliya I).

⁵ Müller-Karpe–Müller-Karpe 2019: 10, with Plan 2. Sebastian Fischer has carried out a detailed comparison of KpT 1.11 and 1.14 (to appear elsewhere).

⁶ See Wilhelm 2006: 233; Rieken 2009: 133; Wilhelm 2019: 199.

⁷ On Hittite engagement with these three kingdoms during the reigns of Tudḫaliya I, Arnuwanda I, and Tudḫaliya II, see the recent overview by Weeden (2022: 562–573). In his yet-more-recent overview, Alvis Matessi associates the contents of KpT 1.11 (DAAM 1.11) with the transfer of the Deity of the Night from Kizzuwatna to Šamuḫa, attributed to Tudḫaliya I (Matessi 2023: 145, 147–148).

It narrates the deeds of Egli-Tenu and Ili-Šarruma, who traveled into the mountains and down to the sea, then parted ways, perhaps eventually reuniting in Kizzuwatna. The story also involves deities, in particular Teššob and Kizzuwatnean Hebat, as well as the pantheon as a collective; midway through, it refers to the (or a) Hittite. The text is formatted with paragraph rulings and features sentence punctuation (see below, with n. 15).

In this paper I shall present the text, with translation where possible, and discuss features indicative of genre, mode of composition, author, and historical context. On that basis I shall venture a hypothesis to explain what KpT 1.11 may be and whose story it may tell, to whom. The work is not mine alone but includes that of Sebastian Fischer, to whom much of the linguistic analysis of Hurrian is due (at least to the extent that it is correct), as well as observations on palaeography and other matters.⁸ Besides seeking to ascertain what the text says – so far as its state of preservation and our knowledge of Hurrian permit – we seek to discover what is its genre, what the tale is about, who might be its author, and what historical situation may account for its composition.

FRAMEWORK OF INQUIRY

The following observations set the parameters for addressing the questions posed above:

- 1) The text of KpT 1.11 is composed in Hurrian and the tablet is written in Middle Hittite script, using the conventions for spelling Hurrian words current in Ḫattuša (as distinct from the conventions developed in Mittani).⁹
- 2) While the tablet was found at Kayalıpınar, the text inscribed on it may have originated elsewhere.
- 3) It was one of several Hurrian tablets of different genres found at Kayalıpınar, each in a different location.
- 4) It closely resembles another of the Kayalıpınar Hurrian fragments, KpT 1.14, which was evidently copied from another tablet: the notation PAB PAB PAB, indicating a lacuna in the source being copied, appears on its reverse (l. 16').
- 5) The action narrated in KpT 1.11 takes place in Kizzuwatna and neighboring regions.
- 6) The story features an ‘I’ who narrates and a ‘you’ who is addressed, as well as named individuals and pluralities of people or deities.
- 7) The composition exhibits what may be poetic features, including the repetition of clauses across paragraph rulings, non-standard syntax (such as separating the genitive from its head noun, l. 42'), and, apparently, the marking of prosodic length.

These observations give rise to certain considerations regarding the genre and interpretation of KpT 1.11. If it were a letter, who would have sent it to whom, and why in Hurrian? Unless it were an unsent draft, the addressee must have been located in Šamuḫa,

⁸ Fischer is expected to publish remarks on KpT 1.11 elsewhere. I have previously discussed this text in the context of the history of Alalaḫ (von Dassow 2020: 203) and Mittani (von Dassow 2022: 492–493).

⁹ See references in n. 2 above. Hittite, Mittanian, and other conventions for writing Hurrian in cuneiform are described by Giorgieri (2000: 181–184), Wilhelm (2004: 97–98), and Wegner (2007: 43–49).

and was presumably Hittite; the scribe, moreover, was evidently trained in the scribal conventions of Ḫattuša. The passages of historical narrative would be unusually long for a letter, and repetition of entire sentences would be surprising. But if it were a historical composition, who is addressing whom in the passages featuring ‘I’ and ‘you’? These passages are unusually long for a historical composition, although Hittite annals and treaty prologues do often include quoted speech or passages of dialogue.¹⁰ Other genres that feature direct address – and that involve deities with humans – include hymns, prayers, and narrative poetry or epic. For most of the possible genres, we have virtually no Hurrian comparanda: no historical compositions, very few letters, no stand-alone hymns, and very few prayers.¹¹ KpT 1.11 contains nothing suggesting a hymn. It does contain passages suggestive of prayer, in particular those featuring a first-person speaker who mentions not giving things as a burnt-offering, for an omen, or the like, but the report of these acts does not appear to be addressed to a deity, the other passages narrating events seem out of accord with prayer, and the second-person addressee (ll. 11’, 13’) does not appear to be divine.¹²

As for epic, we do have examples of Hurrian narrative poetry, to which the apparent literary features and vocabulary of KpT 1.11 may bear comparison, but the comparison is not especially compelling: epic embeds first-person speech in third-person narrative, while this text seems to do the reverse.¹³ The tablet’s language and provenience, as well as its script and content, argue against taking it to be a letter – not an ordinary letter, anyway. Beyond the issues already mentioned, the text lacks typical epistolary features: it contains no forms of address like ‘my lord’ or ‘my brother’, no transitional phrases introducing new topics, and hardly any connectives. Furthermore, its sibling fragment KpT 1.14 was evidently copied from another tablet, presumably on site, while a letter would have to have arrived from elsewhere. That leaves us with a historical narrative of some kind, composed in the first person. In that case, whose history does it recount and who is the narrator?

To sum up so far: a viable hypothesis addressing the questions of context, genre, and subject must account for a Hittite-trained scribe recording a composition in Hurrian, on a tablet found in Šamuḫa, narrating events in Kizzuwatna, as well as positing an identity for the ‘I’ who narrates and the ‘you’ who is addressed. Let us now turn to the text.

¹⁰ On quoted speech in Hittite texts see Miller 2018.

¹¹ At this writing, three letters written wholly in Hurrian are known: the Mittani Letter found at Tell el-Amarna, a letter found at Ugarit (RS 11.853), and a fragment of one found at Tell Brak (TB 11021); see von Dassow 2022: 460–467. In the genre of prayer, the clearest example in Hurrian has been ChS I/1 41, which features Tašme-Šarri (Tudḫaliya II) and has been attributed to Tadu-Ḫeba (Singer 2002: 43–44, no. 6), and it is now rivalled by a tablet found at Büklükale containing the text of a prayer to Teššob, to be published in *Anatolian Archaeological Studies* by Mark Weeden (whom I thank for sharing the text prior to publication).

¹² Hittite prayers can however include quite substantial passages of historical narrative that also feature dialogue; among the most remarkable such passages is Muršili II’s account of his altercation with Armā (Horemheb) in one of his Plague Prayers (Miller 2018: 63).

¹³ One of the principal representatives of Hurrian narrative poetry is the Song of Release (or Liberation, or Deliverance), which includes long speeches by the storm-god Teššob, by Megi, ruler of Ebla, and by Sazalla, speaker of the Senate, as well as passages of dialogue; see von Dassow 2023, with references there.

KpT 1.11

Here I present the text in transliteration, normalized Hurrian, and translation (where possible), line by line.¹⁴ The surviving fragment comprises roughly half the tablet, broken diagonally from the upper right to the lower left of the obverse, with most of the lower edge preserved and little of the right edge. Lines are about 24 signs in length (based on those that are almost fully preserved). Sense divisions are marked at three levels: paragraphs are demarcated with ruling lines, sentences with a Winkelhaken (here represented with a backwards oblique stroke), and word spacing is employed.¹⁵ Alternative analyses of words or syntax are frequently possible, producing a puzzle of interdependent unknowns. I shall indicate some of these alternatives in the notes on the text that follow.

Text

- 1') []x ^leh-l[i-]
 []x *Eğl*[*i-Tenu*(?-)]
- 2') []x-el ši-i[-]
 []x-e=*l* ... [...]
] ... them/they ...
- 3') [k]i-iz-zu-wa-ta-ni[(-?)]
 []*Kizzuwadani*[(-?) ...]
- 4') []-ši a-la-la-aḫ-ḫi-ni[(-?)]
 []... *Alalah-ḫe-ne*[(-?) ...]
] ... to (the) Alalah(ian?) ...
- 5') [ḫ]a?-ta ir-ta \
 [] ... *ird(e)-a* \
] ... as a tongue(?).
- 6') []x iš-ga-a-ri ku-un-ti
 [] ... *iškāri kundi*
 (no translation)
- 7') [-g]a-aḫ-du ar-ti \^{URU}Zu-un-na-ḫa-ra
 []g-aḫ-(*i*)*t-o arde* *Zunnaḫara*
 ...] they x-ed the city. Zunnaḫara

¹⁴ Reference to the grammatical descriptions of Hurrian by Giorgieri, Wegner, and Wilhelm is assumed in the analysis of KpT 1.11 that follows, as is reference to Richter 2012 for the lexicon. I adopt the convention observed in Fischer 2018 of separating only enclitics with ‘=’ and all other morphemes with a hyphen (-).

¹⁵ While the use of paragraph rulings is standard in Hittite scribal practice, as is word spacing, marking sentence boundaries is not. Waal (2015: 80–81) notes the occasional use of “Glossenkeile” (one or two oblique strokes or a Winkelhaken) as punctuation, mostly in the Hittite writing of Hurrian.

- 8') [-]ú-ri nam-li ni-bi-e-ri ni-ḥa-ri
[-]uri namli nibēri niḡari
] ... bed(?) ... dowry
- 9') [^le]ḥ-li-te-nu-un ^llī-šar-ru-ma-an
[] Egli-Tenu=*n* Ilī-Šarrum(*a*)=*ān*
] ... Egli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma
- 10') [] pa-pa-an-na-ša-al-la i-ki-ia-ša
[] paban(*i*)-*n*(*a*)-až-a=*lla* eg(*i*)-*i*-až-a
] in(to) the mountains they
- 11') []-zi \ ta-aš-ša-mi-pu-u-ra šu-u-uš-ki-ni pa-r[i-i?-ša]
[]... \ taššami-*v*-*o*-ra šōški-*n*(*e*)-*e* par-[iž-a]
] With your gift(?), at dawn(?) they set out,
- 12') [ki-ia-še-ni-x? d]u-ru-ú-i ša-at-ti-du ḥa-a-ri \
[kiaže-*n*(*e*)-*e*(-?) i]urūi šatt-id-o ḥāri \
down to the sea they took the road.
-
- 13') [ta-aš-ša-m]i-wu-_u-ra šu-ú-uš-ki-ni pa-ri-i-ša ki-ia-še-ni[(-?)]
[taššami]-*v*-*o*-ra šūški-*ne* par-iž-a kiaže-*n*(*e*)-*e*[(-?)]
With your gift(?), at dawn(?) they set out, down to the sea
- 14') [du-ru-]ú-i ša-at-ti-du ḥa-a-ri \ ^leḥ-li-te-nu-un
[tur]ūi šatt-id-o ḥāri \ Egli-Tenu=*n*
they took the road. And Egli-Tenu
- 15') [^{HUR.SA}G]za-al-lu-úr-bi-n[i] ag-a ^{URU}mu-kiš-ḥi-ni-da du-ri-ia[]
[^{HUR.SA}G]Sallurbi-*n*(*e*)-*e* ag-a Mugiš-ḥe-*ne*-da turi-a [...]
ascended to Mt. Sallurbi, he descended toward Mugiš,
- 16') [^{KUR}m]i-it-ta-an-ni ga-a-pa \ ^llī-šar-ru-ma-an ḥi-i-lu-i m[a-]
[^{KUR}M]ittan(*i*)-*n*(*e*)-*e* kāb-a \ Ilī-Šarrum(*a*)=*an* ḥīlui [...]
he proceeded to Mittani. And Ilī-Šarruma ... [...]
- 17') [x -t]a-an-zi-x pa-la-aš-tab ḥu-u-ub-ri-ta ma-a-lu-uš-d[u?-um?]
[x -t]a-*nzi*-x pal-ašt-a-b ḥōbr(*i*)-*i*-da mā-l-u/ošt-[ul o?-m? ...]
... he knows, toward his ...? you/he rage[d? ...]
- 18') [x -l]u-ma-al-la za-pa-ar-ši-ni ši-eš-ši-ia u-ur-ni-ia pa?[-]
[x -l]u-ma=*lla* sabarže-*n*(*e*)-*e* šēšš(*e*)-*i*-a ōrn(*i*)-*i*-a x[...]
... them(?), to/with the *sabarže* sixfold he *orn*-ed(?) [...]
- 19') [x -]x-eš u-mi-in-na \ du-nu-u-ši-ia-ma-al ka₄-a-ši-ša[]
[x -]x-e=š omin(*i*)-*na* \ tun-ōž-*i*-a-ma=*l* káž-iž-a[...]
... (erg.) the lands. He did not win(?) them ... [...]

- 20') [URU]wi₅-nu-wa-an-da-pa ša-at-ti-du e-ra-du-uš ni-i[p-]
 [URU]Winuwanda-va šatt-id-o erad(e)-ož ni-i[p- ...]
 at Winuwanda they seized (x), like a bird ... [...]
- 21') [e-]na-ar-ḥi-ni-eš-ša ša-at-tu-u-ši-ia-ma tar-šu-[wa-ni-]
 [e]narġi-ne-š=(nn>)ša šatt-ōž-i-a-ma taržu[wani(-) ...]
 the divinity did not seize him, (the) man [...]
- 22') [x-]a-mu-uḥ-li ša-at-tu-u-šu ḥu-u-ši-nu-uḥ-li(-)]
 [x -]amoġli šatt-ōž-u(?) ḥōžinoġl[i ...]
 ... he was(?) seized ... [...]
- 23') [nu-u]n-ta-i-en-ni ku-li-du kam-bi-du ḥu-ut-ta[-]
 [? Nu]ndai-enni kol-id-o kamb-id-o ḥu-ut-ta[- ...]
 Nundai-enni(?) they let go(?), they ... [...]
- 24') [0?] \ da-an-du zum-ḥar-ri-in a-bi-[in?]
 [0?] \ tan-(i)d-o sumġar-(n>)re-n abi[-n ...]
 They did [...] before the *sumġar*.
-
- 25') [l¹ni]-en-ta-i-in-ni-el a-nam-mi x[]
 [N]endai-enni(ž)=l anammi x[...]
 Nendai-enni(?) them thus(?) [... x-ed.]
- 26') [x-r]e?-ni-eš DINGIR.MEŠ-za-re-eš šum-mi-e[š]
 [x-r]e?-ne-ž enzar(i)-(n>)re-ž šummi-ž[...]
 ... (erg.) the pantheon entire [... x-ed]
- 27') [f^a]m-mi-lu-šar-ra DUMU.MUNUS-la ¹Ta-[]
 [fⁱ]Ammilužarra šala Ta[...]
 Ammilužarra, daughter of Ta[...]
- 28') [ḥ]a-wu_u-ru-un-ni-in e-ki-ni-in []
 [ḥ]avōron(i)-ne-n egi-ne-n [...]
 from(?) within the heaven [...]
- 29') [x-]mi-ia-ti-pa-al a-ru-u-ša-a-ú []
 [x -m]iyade-va=l ar-ōž-āw [...]
 to [x-]miyade I gave them [...]
- 30') [x-]x-la-nu-up-pu DINGIR.MEŠ-na-a-ši ^d10-ub-bi ša[r-ri-ni-we?]
 [x-]x-l-an-uffu en(i)-n(a)-až-(v)e Teššop-pe ša[rri-ne-ve(?)]
 I do not x (obj.) of the gods, [of] Teššob [the k]ing(?),
- 31') [k]u-wa-ar-ra-a-ši \ am-mi-te-wa_a-i-e[l?]
 [k]uwar(i)-(n>)r(a)-až-(v)e \ amm-id-i-va-e(n)=[l? ...]
 of the (pl.) *kuwari* (?). May they not reach [them? ...]

- 32') [h]e-en-ta-al am-pa-aš-ša a-ru-up-pu-u-ul []
 [h]end-a=l ambašš(e)-a ar-uffu=l [...]
 ... them, for a burnt offering I do not give them [...]
- 33') [p]u-ra-a-el ^{URU}ḥa-ad-du-<ḥu->u-uh-ḥa-al-la []
 [f]ur(-i)-āe=l ḥattōḥḥ(e)-a=lla [...]
 so that they see the Hittite (?) [...]
- 34') [x-]x-ri wu_u-ra-an-ni-ni-da a-ru-up-pu aš-ḥi-i[t/da?]
 [x-]x-ri furanni-ne-da ar-uffu ašḥi-[(?) ...]
 [...] ... to the seer(?) I do not give, offering [...]
- 35') [x-]x-ri-ni-it-ta e-la ḥu-ú-i-eš-ša []
 [x-]x-re-n(e)-e=ttā e-la ḥū-i-eš=(nn>)ša x[...]
 to? the [...] I/me festival(?) may call(?) [...]
- 36') [m]a-an-zu-u-ra-ma DINGIR.MEŠ-na-ša aš-ḥu-up-pu e-k[u-]
 [m]an-z-ō-ra=ma en(i)-n(a)-až-(v)a ašḥ-uffu e-k[u- ...]
 Together with them I do not offer [x] to the gods [...]
- 37') [x -p]u-ra-ni ta-ru-up-pu te-ḥa-an-za-a-i \ i[t?- -pa-ad]
 [x -p]u-ra-ni tar-uffu teḡanz(i)-āi \ x[... -va(?)=d]
 [...] ... I do not x (obj.) with the [... for (x) I]
- 38') [i-l]i-eš-ti-ib \
 [il]-išt-i-b \
-
- 39') [x - x]-pa-at i-li-eš-tib ḥa-a-ú-up-pu nu-u-li ^{URU}[]
 [x - x]-va=d il-išt-i-b ḥā-ūffu nōli ^{URU}[...]
 For (x) I (verb), I do not take troop(s) of (city) [GN]
- 40') [x - x p]a?-an-ni-in-na ¹eh-li-te-nu-uš e-el-ti[-]
 [x - x -]x-anni=nna Egli-Tenu-ž e-el-ti[- ...]
 [...] ... him(?) Egli-Tenu (erg.) ... [...]
- 41') []x-um-mu-um nu-ḥu \ ma-an-zu-u-uš-ša ḥe-eš[-ti-du?]
 [...]x-um-mu-o-m nuḡ-u \ man-z-ō-š=(nn>)ša ḥešt[-id-o(?) ...]
 [...] ... he did They barricad(ed?) it [...]
- 42') [^{URU}ga-az-zu-wa-t]a-an-ni-bi aš-ḥu-u-i ke-er-ḥe \ aš-ti ḥa-a-ni []
 [^{URU}Kazzuwad?]an(i)-ne-ve ašḥōi kerḡe \ ašti ḥāni [...]
 the acropolis of [Kazzuwad?]na up high. Women, children, [...]
- 43') [a]-ki-du ke-er-ḥe-ni ḥe-eš-ti-wa_a-al-la-x[]
 [... a]g-id-o kerḡe-n(e)-e ḥešt(-i)-eva=lla(=)[...]
 [...]they brought up to the acropolis, that they might barricade them [? ...]

Yılan Kale in the late 15th century and its name subsequently generalized to the country under Hittite rule.

4') Alalaḫ and Kizzuwatna appear side by side in this text as they did in geopolitical fact. The two kingdoms shared a frontier along the Amanus Mountains, and confronted each other repeatedly during the late 15th century (see Trameri 2024: 286–298; von Dassow 2022: 485–486). Here the toponym Alalaḫ may be meant, in a form carrying the adjectival suffix *-be* (like Mugišḫe, below, l. 15'), or else 'the Alalaḫian', taking the suffix in its gentilic meaning.

7') After two lines whose remains are too scant for interpretation (ll. 5'–6'), someone (plural) did something (verb ending *-(i)d-o*, 3pl. transitive perfective) to a city (*arde*, abs.), full stop. In the next sentence appears the town of Zunnaḫara, which may be located at Misis, on the Ceyhan River twelve kilometers downstream from Sirkeli Höyük (although no proof of this identification is yet forthcoming; see Novák–Rutishauser 2017: 138 Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 284).

8') This line contains a sequence of three nouns in the absolutive, concluding with a dowry (*niḡari*).

9') The protagonists Egli-Tenu and Ili-Šarruma are here conjoined, both their names in the absolutive case. During the ensuing passage they act together, before going separate ways. Noting that the theophoric element of Egli-Tenu's name is Teššob's 'vizier' (SUKKAL; see Wilhelm, *RLA* 13: 588, s.v. Tenu) and that of Ili-Šarruma's name is Ḫebat's son, Stefano de Martino (2023: 94) suggests that the name-bearers, as well as their names, are Kizzuwatnean.

10') The pair may travel to the mountains or spend the night in them, depending on whether the mountains (*pabanna*) and their insides (*egi-*) are in the dative or essive case; Fischer (2018: 333) decides for the dative, but notes that the essive is possible (personal communication). Which mountains Egli-Tenu and Ili-Šarruma traverse may be guessed based on their subsequent travels: they go down to the sea, then Egli-Tenu crosses the Amanus range to go to Mugiš (ll. 14'–16'), so they must first have crossed the Taurus range from north to south.

11'–12') Following the sentence-demarcating Winkelhaken, a new sentence begins in line 11': *taššami-v-ō-ra šōški-n(e)-e par-iž-a*. If the word *taššami* is derived from *taž-*, 'give', it may be a variant of the noun *tažmi*, 'gift', by analogy with nouns like *elmi*, *elami* (or perhaps formed with the root augment *-am*), but the long *-šš-* would require explanation; the root *tažm-*, 'capture' (in Urartian), may also come into consideration, yielding a noun 'captive'. The meaning 'gift' aligns better with 'dowry' in line 8'. Whichever it is, captive or gift, who is the 'you' (*-v-*) whose *taššami* our protagonists take with them? Answering that question depends on conjecturing who addresses whom in this text (see below, under 'Hypothesis'). The word *šōški* may be derived by metathesis from *šukši*, 'first' (by analogy with *kik-ši* > *kiški*, 'third'), and elsewhere the sun-god Šimige is the subject of a verb *šusik-i-b*, conjecturally 'rose' (see Dijkstra 2013: 132), so this word may mean 'sunrise, dawn'; the case ending may be locative-directive *-e* following the relator *-ne*. The verb's meaning is certain: *plfar-iž-*, with intransitive *-a*, means 'get going, set out'.

Hence the clause may say, “With your gift, at dawn they set out.” Then our protagonists went down to the sea, *kiaže-n(e)-e turūi šatt-id-o hāri*, whereupon the end of the sentence is marked with a Winkelhaken. The first word of this second clause can be restored from the next line, because the entire sentence is repeated after the paragraph ruling, notably with differences in spelling (*ta-aš-ša-mi-pu-u-ra* vs. [*ta-aš-ša-m*]i-wu_u-ra and *šu-u-uš-ki-ni* vs. *šu-ú-uš-ki-ni*).

12', 13'–14') The sea, *kiaže*, could be in the genitive (*ki-ia-še-ni[-we]*), separated by two words from its head noun *hāri*, ‘road’ (Wilhelm 2019: 198–199), but other cases are possible. The locative-directive *-e* following the relator *-ne* is a likely option, given Fischer’s analysis of *turūi* as an adverb formed from *turi*, ‘down’, by analogy with *ašhu/ōi*, ‘above’ (cited by Wilhelm, *ibid.*). In either case the road, *hāri* (abs.), is the patient of the verb *šatt-*, ‘take’, marked as 3pl. transitive perfective (*-id-o*). (The alternative of analyzing the verb as 2s. future *šatt-ed-o* would require a change of subject.) Marking vocalic length, as in *par-iž-a* (*pa-ri-i-ša*, l. 13') and *hāri* (*ha-a-ri*, ll. 12', 14'), each the final word of its clause, may indicate prosodic lengthening.

Thus, in the analysis presented here, “down to the sea they took the road.”

14'–16') At this point Egli-Tenu apparently continued onward without Ili-Šarruma, who went another way and did something else (ll. 16'–19'). First Egli-Tenu ascended (*ag-a*, intransitive) to Mt. Sallurbi (with the relator *-ne* and locative-directive *-e*), somewhere in the Amanus range; the mountain may be named with reference to the town called Zalwar or Zalpa(r) and the river called Saluara, on the east side of the Amanus (Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 287, n. 61; Cohen 2017: 296–297, with n. 9). From there Egli-Tenu descended: the verb form spelled *du-ri-ia* clearly derives from *tur-*, ‘descend’, although one would expect *tur-a*; perhaps (Fischer suggests) the form is based on *turi*, ‘down’, here used (irregularly) as a verbal root, with intransitive valence marker *-a*. He descended to Mugiš, its name provided with the ‘city’ determinative and the adjectival suffix *-be* (as in many texts from Alalaḥ IV and one from Ugarit; see Belmonte Marín, *RGTC* 12/2: 197–198, s.v. Mukiš), here in the directive case (*-da* following the relator *-ne*). The break at the end of l. 15' may suffice for another word introducing his next move, to Mittani (with relator *-ne* followed by locative-directive *-e*; see Fischer 2018: 295–296), whither he *kāb-a*, intransitive; again the marking of vocalic length (*ga-a-pa*) may indicate prosodic lengthening. The root *kab-* with the augment *-al-* occurs in one of the letters found at Qaṭna, where it is understood to mean ‘plunder’ (TT 4: 20–24, 29; see Richter–Lange 2012: 58–60, 62), but no such aggressive action need be read into Egli-Tenu’s progress. He could simply ‘march’ or ‘proceed’ to Mittani, presumably still bearing the *taššami* with which he and Ili-Šarruma had set out.

16'–19') What Ili-Šarruma does is far less clear. The second word of the sentence, *hīlui*, may be analyzed as an adverb formed like *ašhui*, ‘above’, perhaps followed by a verb at the end of l. 16', then probably a noun at the beginning of l. 17'. Unless there is a change of subject, Ili-Šarruma knew something, *pal-ašt-a-b* (intransitive); alternatively, this verb could be read *pal-ašt-aw*, ‘I know’ (transitive). After *hōbri-da* there follows what may be either a 2s. or 3s. transitive perfective of a verb based on *māl-*, ‘bitter’ (known only from *ma-la-še* in a Ugaritic vocabulary), although the root augment does not exhibit vowel

harmony: perhaps *māl-ošt-o*([-*m*]), ‘you raged’, or ‘he raged’ (if a transitive sense can be given to this notion), or else (Fischer suggests) middle-voice *māl-ušt-u*. The noun *hōbri*, however it is to be understood, may have the 3s. possessive suffix *-i-*, because it lacks the relator *-ne-* before the directive case ending *-da*. After the first word of l. 18’, which may end in the 3pl. enclitic =*lla*, it would be tempting to read *za-pa-ar-ši-ni* as a form of the toponym Zabarasma (on Kizzuwatna’s frontier; see Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 282–283), except for the lack of the determinative URU; besides, the word is readily analyzed as a Hurrian noun in *-še*, perhaps in the ablative-instrumental case. The next two words are probably two 3s. transitive verbs in succession (the alternative being two nouns in the essive case), *šēš(e)-i-a ōrn(i)-i-a*. Words from a root *ōrn-* occur in a military context in Tadu-Ḫeba’s prayer on behalf of Tašmi-Šarri (CTH 777.8 = ChS I/1 41 obv. I 18, rev. III 27), and *šēš-* looks like the ordinal ‘sixth’. The two verbs could form a hendiadys expressing a multiplicative action: perhaps Ili-Šarruma *ōrn*-ed something six times with the *sabarže?* ‘The lands’, *ominna*, which follow an ergative subject (*-ž*) in l. 19’, could be the patient of the action. There the sentence ends.

‘The lands’ could also be meant by the 3pl. enclitic pronoun affixed to the first verb in the next sentence, *tun-ōž-i-a-ma=l*, which may state that he did not vanquish them: *tun-*, ‘win, prevail’, negated 3s. transitive preterite with the 3pl. enclitic =*l(la)*. The following word, *kāž-iž-a*, may be an intransitive verb formed like *par-iž-a* (ll. 11’, 13’) or a noun in the essive case (either way, with vocalic length marked in the root); the break at the end of the line would accommodate another word.

20’–22’) And now we’re at Winuwanda, located in southeastern Cilicia (Hawkins–Weeden 2017: 285–286); the dative appears to have a locative function here (Fischer 2018: 166–167). There, a plurality seized (*šatt-id-o*, 3pl. transitive perfective) something, like a bird (*erad(e)-ož*, equative); the alternative analysis of the verb as 2s. transitive future, *šatt-ed-o*, ‘you will seize’ (Fischer, *loc. cit.*), is predicated on understanding the text as a letter. Then in the next line the *enarği* (divine spirit?) did not seize him – who, Ili-Šarruma? The *enarği*, in the ergative (relator *-ne* followed by *-ž*), carries the 3s. enclitic =*nna*; the verb *šatt-ōž-i-a-ma* is a negated 3s. transitive preterite (like *tun-ōž-i-a-ma* above). But then someone, perhaps a man or men (*taržu[wani-*]), was seized in an action involving two persons designated by office with the occupational suffix *-oğli*; the first, *-]amoğli*, is in the absolutive case, the second, *hōžinoğli* (which may be derived from *huloož-*, ‘bind’) may be in another case. The verb in line 22’ could be analyzed either as middle-voice *šatt-ož-u* (on the marker *-u* see Campbell 2011: 31; this *-u* may co-occur with preterite *-ož*, according to work in preparation by Campbell and Fischer), or as 2s. transitive preterite *šatt-ož-o*, ‘you seized’. If the latter, who was ‘you’? In either case, who seized whom?

Sentence punctuation may have appeared at the missing ends of any of these three lines. In their absence, which words belong together in what clauses remains open.

23’–24’) A new personage named Nundai-enni appears on the scene (l. 23’), while a plurality reappears as the subject of three 3pl. transitive perfective verbs: they may *kol-*, ‘let go’, someone previously seized, they *kamb-*, whatever that means, and they *tan-*, ‘did’, something (*dan-(i)d-o*); the Winkelhaken preceding the third verb at the start of l. 24’, oddly placed if meant as sentence punctuation, may instead serve as a ‘hyphen’ connecting the indented line squeezed between obverse and lower edge to the preceding line (see

Pisaniello 2020: 133 on such uses of the so-called Glossenkeil). The plural subject did the last action before (*abi-n-?*) the *sumġar*, a term of unknown meaning in the ablative-instrumental case (*-n(e)*; Fischer 2018, Ch. 6); this term is attested in several other texts, including one that mentions Tudhaliya and Arnuwanda (ChS I/8 no. 7 obv. 19', 20' [= CTH 791]). Then a ruling marks the end of the paragraph.

25') In the first line of the new paragraph Nendai-inni, surely the same as Nundai-enni at the close of the previous paragraph, acts as an agent (ergative *-š* dropping before 3pl. enclitic *=l(la)*, indicating the patient). The different spellings suggest that the scribe was writing from dictation and heard the name first one way, then another. This personage performs an action *anammi*, ‘thus’, upon ‘them’; it is tempting to suggest that he speaks words, or addresses them (*=l*), introducing the new topic of this paragraph.

26'–28') The new topic involves the entire pantheon in the ergative (*enzarre-š šummi-š*), and a woman named Ammī-lū-šarra, daughter of Ta-[...]. Preceding the pantheon (collective *enzar(i)-(n>)re-š*, with the geminated *-r-* defectively written; cf. DINGIR.MEŠ-*za-ar-ra* in l. 49') is a third noun in the ergative; this triplet of nouns must be the agent of a missing verb, and perhaps Ammī-lū-šarra is the patient. Could her father be Talzu, who features in CTH 641, a document that concerns endowments for the cultic establishment of Išhara of Neriša, in Kizzuwatna? That text reports that Talzu provided for the cult of a trio of gods in Išhara's temple; it also mentions someone's daughter; it enumerates villages belonging to several entities including a man named Ūtti and the cultic offices of a priestess and priest; then came Sunaššura, it says, and [granted the estate] to Ūtti (edition by A. Chrzanowska, hethiter.net/: CTH 641.1 (INTR 2017–01–04); for discussion see Trameri 2024: 281–286, with references there). Sunaššura is surely the king of Kizzuwatna by that name, and Ūtti is probably the same as the Ūtti who received an order from the king of Mittani to release the donkeys of Niqmepa, king of Alalah (AIT 108; von Dassow 2022: 486). If the daughter of Talzu is featured in the Kayalıpınar tablet, could it be that the gods, acting from within the heavens (*havōron(i)-ne-n egi-ne-n*, l. 28', in the ablative-instrumental case; Fischer 2018: 355–356, 373), designate her as priestess?

29' ff.) Whether or not that is right, something seems to go wrong. In l. 29', the first-person speaker declares either that he gave ‘them’ to or for someone or something, if [*-m*] *iyade* is suffixed with dative *-va* and 3pl. enclitic *=l(la)*, or else that he gave ‘your (somethings)’, if [*-m*] *iyade* is suffixed with 2s. possessive *-v-* and pluralized with *=l(la)* (an alternative suggested by Fischer). In either case what is given is the patient of 1s. transitive *ar-ōž-āw*, perhaps with vowels marked long for prosodic reasons. Then he says that he does not do a series of things (negated 1s. transitive verbs, with suffix *-uffū*, ll. 30', 32', 34', 36', 37'). He does not do something of the gods, of Teššob the king (l. 30', or ‘of Teššob, the king of the gods’, if this is taken as a fixed genitival expression; Wegner 2007: 71), and of the (plural) *kuwari* (? l. 31'). He does not give ‘them’ as a burnt offering (*ambašš(e)-a ar-uffū=l*, l. 32'), and does not give (*ar-uffū*) something to the seer – or for the omen? – analyzing *furanni* (l. 34', in the directive case) as a noun based on *fur-*, ‘see’, with the derivational suffix *-nni* (compare *fur-ana*, ‘omen’, *fur-ull-i-nni*, ‘diviner’, and *fur-i-kk-o-nni*, ‘seer’ [Campbell 2012]).

Meanwhile, some actions are to be done, or not done, by a plurality, like the probable jussive *amm-id-i-va-e(n)=l(?)* (l. 31') and possible purposive *fur(-i)-āe=l* (l. 33'), both

carrying the 3pl. enclitic =*l(la)*. The one may be analyzed as a negated 3pl. jussive form of *amm-*, ‘reach’, *amm-id-i-va-en*, thus, ‘may they not reach them(?)’ (see Campbell 2015: 70–73); the other, if based on the root *fur-*, ‘see, look’, may be analyzed as a purposive form (*ibid.*: 184–185), otherwise as a noun in the instrumental case. The word *hend-a=l* in l. 32’ may be an intransitive verb, its subject marked by the 3pl. enclitic =*l(la)*, or a noun in the essive, in which case the enclitic pronoun would refer to the patient of a verb (perhaps *ar-uffu-* in the same line).

33’) One of these actions involves a Hittite, misspelled. The form written *Ḫatto-ḡohḫa=lla* surely represents mis-hearing or mis-recording from dictation: the scribe heard the adjectival suffix *-ḡe*, wrote it using the sign *ḪU*, then realized it was to be followed by the essive case, and without erasing the *ḪU* continued writing another connective vowel (*-o-*) and another suffix *-hḫe*, this time with the case ending *-a* (thus *-u-uhḫa-*), resulting in ‘Hittite-ite’. The 3pl. enclitic =*lla*, whoever or whatever ‘they’ are, probably refers to the patient of a verb, conjecturally the purposive *fur(-i)-āe=l*.

35’–38’) Are ‘they’ the same people with whom the speaker does not offer something to the gods, [*m*]*an-z-ō-ra=ma en(i)-n(a)-až-(v)a ašḫ-uffu*, in l. 36’? The preceding clause in l. 35’ comprises a noun bearing the 1s. enclitic =*tta*, a noun that may be *ela*, ‘sister’ (abs. or essive), or *el(i)-a*, ‘festival’ (essive), and an optative form *ḫū-i-ež-* of *ḫu-*, ‘call’, bearing the 3s. enclitic =*nna*, which may express the agent or the patient of the optative in *-i-(e)ž* (see Campbell 2015: 107, 143). The spelling of this verb (*ḫu-ú-*) may indicate prosodic lengthening, as in other clause-final words (e.g., *pa-ri-i-ša* and *ḫa-a-ri*, above, ll. 11’–12’ and 13’–14’), but clause boundaries are difficult to determine in the absence of preserved sentence punctuation.

Following the clause in which he does not offer to the gods, in l. 37’ the first-person speaker does not do yet another thing (*tar-uffu*) with a noun in the instrumental case, *teḡanz(i)-āi*, its case ending marked long; there the sentence ends, marked with a Winkelhaken. The last clause before the paragraph divider (ll. 37’–38’) is repeated after it (l. 39’), similar to the repetition of the entire sentence before and after the paragraph transition between ll. 11’–12’ and 13’–14’; also, as in the earlier case, sentence punctuation marks the end of the clause before the paragraph divider. The clause comprises only two words, probably a noun in the dative (*-va*) bearing the 1s. enclitic =*d* and an antipassive verb form *il-išt-i-b*, probably expressing what the first-person speaker did.

39’) At this point the speaker changes theme, saying ‘I do not take’ (*ḫā-ūffu*, with vowels marked long) troops (*nōli*) of a city whose name is missing in the break, whereafter he is replaced in the action by others.

40’–43’) In line 40’, Egli-Tenu, who has been gone for more than twenty lines, is back in action (in the ergative case), and evidently back in Kizzuwatna, which is spelled Kazzuwadan(i) in this passage (ll. 42’, 44’, 46’). There, after a sentence containing a 3s. transitive perfective form (*-o-m*) ends (perhaps with a middle-voice verb form *nuḡ-u*, l. 41’), he may lead or collaborate with a plurality (alternatively, they are in opposition). If the verb at the end of l. 41’ is correctly restored on the basis of l. 43’, and the toponym at the start of l. 42’ on the basis of l. 44’, the narrative reports that ‘they’ (ergative) barricaded ‘it’,

man-z-ō-š=(*nn*>)*ša ḥešt-id-o*, namely, *Kazzuwadan(i)-ne-ve ašḥōi kerḡe*, the acropolis of Kazzuwadan(i) up high (l. 42’); here the genitive is separated by the adverb *ašḥōi* from its head noun *kerḡe*, in the absolutive. Following the punctuation, in the next sentence (ll. 42’–43’) they brought women and children up to the acropolis, *ašti ḥāni* [...] *ag-id-o kerḡe-n(e)-e*, that they might barricade them, *ḥešt(-i)-eva=lla* (potential form of *ḥešt-*, ‘block off’, with 3pl. enclitic indicating either subject or patient), presumably to protect them against attack. What appears to be the trace of a Winkelhaken before the break may be punctuation marking the sentence’s end.

44’–46’) Now people are assembled (*tupp-ō-re*, patient-oriented participle) in or at Kazzuwadan(i) (l. 44’). After having barricaded the acropolis, perhaps one barricaded (past tense antipassive *ḥešt-ož-i*) the ḪAR-*na* (if this is a noun in the essive), or perhaps the lower city, if *adašše* may be restored at the end of l. 45’ (although the copy does not support this). That sentence may end with an intransitive verb form in *-a-b* before the sentence punctuation in l. 46’. Then the first-person speaker may show up at the city: the next sentence begins with Kazzuwadan(i) in the directive-locative case (*-n(e)-e*, or perhaps ablative-instrumental *-ne*) carrying the 1s. enclitic =*tta*.

47’–49’) In this sentence the action involves all the gods (*en(i)-na šummi=l*, l. 47’), and in the next sentence Kizzuwatnean Ḫebat (l. 48’). This time the toponym’s first element is written not with *-a-* (as in ll. 44’ and 46’) but with *-i-*, its spelling perhaps being fixed as part of the deity’s designation, while the second element is again spelled *-wadan-* prior to the adjectival suffix *-ḥe* (compare l. 3’ above). As Fischer points out (pers. comm.), given that the form Kizzuwatnaḡe would be expected – and is elsewhere attested for Kizzuwatnean Ḫebat (in ChS I/3–1, no. 1 obv. ii: 38–39 [= CTH 712]; see now Bastici 2024: 240) – the form Kizzuwadnaḡe indicates a base form in which the second element is not *-wadna* (with anaptyxis between *-d-* and *-n-*) but *-wadan* (in accord with the form in l. 3’). The ‘pantheon’ (*enzari*, as in l. 26’, but here marked with the plural relator *-na*) is the last word of the sentence, punctuated by a Winkelhaken at the end of l. 49’ (as is the sentence ending ‘all the gods’ in l. 47’).

50’–52’) A personage named Eḡlib-Adda enters the scene (l. 50’), then Ilī-Šarruma reappears (l. 52’), just as the text dwindles to nothing and the curtain falls on this drama – with at least one act to go.

SYNOPSIS: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE TEXTUAL RECORD

Let us assemble the elements of the narrative that we can grasp with some certainty, together with features of the text that may attest the context of its composition, to see where they lead.

The action takes place mainly in the land of Kizzuwatna, and some of it takes place in the city by that name, which has an acropolis and can be blockaded. The story moves through places in the kingdom or on its frontier, namely, the town of Zunnaḡara, Mt. Sallurbi, and Winuwanda. One of the *dramatis personae* travels beyond the frontier to the neighboring land of Mugiš and then to Mittani, eventually returning to Kizzuwatna city. Another

remains in the land of Kizzuwatna and engages in some action at Winuwanda. The gods are involved – in fact, all the gods are involved – and in particular, Teššob and Kizzuwatnean Ḫebat. The human characters in the story bear names that combine Anatolian, Hurrian, and Semitic elements. They include Eglib-Adda, Egli-Tenu, Ilī-Šarruma, Nundai-enni, and the woman Ammī-lū-šarra. None of them is otherwise attested, except possibly the father of Ammī-lū-šarra, if his name should be restored as Talzu and he should be identified with the Talzu attested in CTH 641, who was evidently an older contemporary of Sunaššura (see above, notes on ll. 26'–28'). Altogether this information adds up to circumstantial evidence that the events in the story transpired in the late 15th century, when Sunaššura changed allegiance from Mittani to Ḫatti during the reign of Tudḫaliya I.

The text, meanwhile, contains some hints of the circumstances under which it was written down. There are at least three clear instances of evidence for writing from dictation. One is the spelling of the same name first as Nundai-enni and then as Nendai-inni (ll. 23', 25').¹⁶ Another is the duplication of the gentilic suffix in writing *ḫattōḫḫ(e)-a* as *ḫattōḫḫa* (l. 33'). The third is the varying spelling of Kizzuwatna as Kizzu- or Kazzu-wadan(i) (see ll. 3', 42', 44', 46', 48', and notes thereon). The alternation in the first element may represent what the scribe was hearing, that is, the speaker used the form Kazzuwadani, which the scribe sometimes recorded as such and sometimes standardized in accord with Hittite convention as Kizzu-wadani (as in the designation of the goddess Ḫebat, l. 48'). On the other hand, there is circumstantial evidence that the text was copied from another exemplar: KpT 1.11 and the literary fragment KpT 1.14 are so alike that the same scribe could have written both, and KpT 1.14 contains the notation PAB PAB PAB, probably indicating a lacuna in the exemplar from which it was copied; therefore KpT 1.11 may likewise have been copied from another tablet.¹⁷ If so, it preserves errors or variants found in its source, which was recorded from dictation.

These variants include writings with extra vowels that may indicate prosodic lengthening, as suggested in the notes on the text above. The clearest examples are in the sentence repeated before and after the paragraph ruling between ll. 12' and 13', comprising two clauses: in the first instance of the first clause, *taššami-v-ō-ra šōški-n(e)-e par-iž-a*, “with your gift(?), at dawn(?) they set out,” the *o*-vowels are marked long in both the first and second words, which are spelled differently in the second instance of the clause, where the *i*-vowel of *par-iž-a* is marked long; in both instances of the second clause, *kiaže-n(e)-e turūi šatt-id-o ḫāri*, “down to the sea they took the road,” the second and fourth word have vowels marked long. In none of these cases is the vowel known to be morphologically long. Since the length marking is optional, it may attest differential emphases in voicing the words, and so may the differences in spelling between the first and second repetition. Other examples in which length may be marked for prosodic reasons include the verb *kāb-a* in l. 16' (“to Mittani he proceeded”), the verb *ar-ōž-āw* in l. 29' (“to [x-]miyade I

¹⁶ To these observations about KpT 1.11 Sebastian Fischer (pers. comm.) adds that KpT 1.32 also contains evidence of dictation in the writing of Tašmi-Šarri (= Tudḫaliya II), spelled once as ¹[*l*]a-aš-me-eš-šar-re- (obv. l. 9') representing the vowel shift *i* > *e* and doubling of -š-, and twice as ¹ta-aš-mi-šar-ri- (rev. ll. 19', 26').

¹⁷ PAB signs are sometimes used in functions other than to indicate a lacuna or damage in the original, as described by Waal (2015: 82; additional instances are adduced by Trameri, pers. comm.), but these other uses seem to involve one or two PAB signs, not three in a row.

gave (them)” or “your [x-]miyade (pl.) I gave”), both verb and noun in *ḫā-ūffu nōli*, l. 39’ (“I do not take troops”), and the adverb *ašḫōi* in l. 42’ (“the acropolis up high”). Patterns are elusive, given that sentence punctuation is often lost in the breaks and comparanda are necessary to ascertain standard writings. But if the marking of vocalic length does indicate prosodic lengthening, is it done in service of poetic meter, or does it reflect the diction of a live speaker?

The same question is aroused by the peculiarly stochastic character of the composition. Its formal features, fine hand and sentence punctuation, suggest a literary text, and in some places it sounds literary – or better, lyrical, with vivid narrative, repetition of entire sentences, and non-standardized syntax – yet it is also choppy, lacking transitions from topic to topic and almost entirely lacking connectives. This can be an artifact of capturing speech in writing as it is spoken, like taking minutes at a meeting or reporting on a live event. Who, then, was delivering what kind of speech to whom, at the time the text of this tablet was originally recorded?

HYPOTHESIS

I hypothesize that KpT 1.11 records the story of Sunaššura, who tells his new Hittite sovereign Tudḫaliya I of the events leading to his change of allegiance, in the manner of an apologia. This would account for the text’s composition in Hurrian, its combination of first-person and third-person narrative, and its recounting of events taking place in Kizzuwatna, as well as its ostensibly literary features. It could also account for the peculiarities of the text that indicate writing from dictation, including the evidence of mis-hearing or variable recording of names, the apparent indications of prosodic lengthening, the placement of sentence punctuation and paragraph divisions, the repetition of words and entire sentences across those divisions (reflecting pauses and repetitions in speech), as well as the lack of transitions (reflecting the writer’s effort to take down the main points without all the connective tissue). And it could account for the tablet’s presence at Šamuḫa, together with a miscellany of other Hurrian texts that may have been written there, or copied and brought there, in the time of Tudḫaliya I or II. What would still require explanation is how, where, and when the text was first written down – by a Hittite-trained scribe who knew Hurrian well enough to record the speech of someone from Kizzuwatna – and at whose behest, under what circumstances?

Nothing in the surviving text indicates that the first-person speaker is Sunaššura and the second-person addressee is Tudḫaliya I. This hypothesis rests on the geographic details and narrative content of the text, which point, rather univocally, to the moment when Kizzuwatna repudiated Mittani’s suzerainty in favor of Ḫatti’s. Sunaššura had made a treaty with the Hurrian king, which he had to break in order to conclude a new one with the Hittite king, according to the text of his treaty with Tudḫaliya I. That new treaty went through a series of editions, in Hittite and in Akkadian, and the final version incorporates elements of an earlier version.¹⁸ The paragraph stipulating the cancellation of the treaty

¹⁸ The development of and relationships among the surviving versions of this treaty (CTH 41) are delineated by Elena Devecchi in the preamble to her translations (Devecchi 2015: 73–91, with comprehensive

with the Hurrian king (§59) prohibits Sunaššura from exchanging messengers with him, as he would previously have done. If KpT 1.11 records Sunaššura's account of events, he had indeed just done so, sending an embassy led by Egli-Tenu to Mittani via the land of Mugiš. The treaty also regulates the exchange of gifts between the Hurrian and the Hittite king (§§51–53).¹⁹ If the account recorded in KpT 1.11 was addressed to Tudḫaliya, it was his gift that Sunaššura's embassy carried – traversing the Taurus Mountains, setting off at dawn 'with your gift', and taking the road down to the sea, whereafter Egli-Tenu proceeded to Mittani (ll. 11'–14'). When the embassy returned home, the city of Kazzuwadani evidently prepared for a siege (ll. 41'–43'): had the Hurrian king rejected the Hittite king's gift and sent an army to enforce his authority over the would-be traitor kingdom? The treaty with Tudḫaliya furthermore contains stipulations prohibiting each party from poisoning the other's messenger (§§45–46) and adjures Sunaššura to check the words of any messenger from Ḫatti against the tablet he carries (§60), betraying concerns about treachery.²⁰ Could such concerns as these be reflected in the passages of KpT 1.11 that involve failing to achieve something, seizing or being seized (ll. 19'–22'), and the first-person narrator's non-performance of a series of acts (ll. 32'–37')?

All these speculative suggestions could be vitiated if the syntax of certain collocations and the meaning of certain words should be understood differently – if, for instance, *taššami-* in ll. 11' and 13' means not 'gift' but 'captive', if the verb in line 22' is 'you seized', not 'he was seized', if some of the 3rd person plural entities are construed as subject rather than object or vice versa – and furthermore, if the text says Kazzuwadani was besieged by an enemy, not barricaded by defenders, if Egli-Tenu was an envoy from Mittani to Ḫatti, rather than a Kizzuwatnean ambassador, among other unverifiable alternatives. Virtually none of the possible interpretations can be confirmed or invalidated without additional evidence. The interpretation I offer appears to require the fewest assumptions that are not grounded in the sources currently known, starting with the fragment at hand. The 'I' who narrates would surely have been identified in the missing first lines of the text, perhaps also the 'you' who is addressed, and a colophon would have indicated what the text was. If the other half of the tablet turns up, or its original, or something else of the sort, the hypothesis I propose could be corroborated or refuted.

Excavations have recommenced at Kayalıpınar under the direction of Çiğdem Maner, focusing in part on areas adjoining those previously excavated, and among the finds are several fragments of Hittite tablets.²¹ It may not be altogether vain to imagine that the other half of KpT 1.11, or complementary textual material, might indeed be found.

references to editions of the texts). I follow Devecchi's paragraph numbering in citing the final Akkadian version (CTH 41.1.2).

¹⁹ In §52, note the corrected reading of the final verb as [*m*]i-na-a-ku-um-mi (formerly read *i-na-a-ku-um-mi*), interpreted as a 1s. predicative form of *manû* in a loan translation from Hittite *kappuwan ḫar(k)-*, 'to have something counted', by Nicla de Zorzi and Michael Jursa (2017).

²⁰ This injunction also appears in the fragment of an earlier Akkadian version (CTH 41.1.1 rev.: 66"-73"; see Devecchi 2015: 78).

²¹ See Maner et al. 2023, with Hasan Peker's edition of the two Hittite fragments, pp. 200–201; four more fragments are catalogued in Maner et al. 2024: 441–442.

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THE TRADITION AND RECENSIONS OF THE *ITKALZI*-RITUAL

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Abstract

The tablets of the itkalzi ritual are known from texts discovered at Hattuša as well at Šapinuwa. The publication of the texts from the latter site has increased our knowledge of the performance of the ritual and its tradition. The itkalzi was performed for the first time for the purification of the royal couple Tudḫaliya II/III and Tadu-Ḫeba. It was subsequently adapted for any possible ritual patron and the prescriptive portions of the text were translated into Hittite. We know at least two main recensions that derive from the original Hurrian composition written on twenty-two tablets.

1. THE RECENSIONS OF THE RITUAL

The *itkalzi* ritual is one of the most intriguing magic rituals known from the ancient Near East and a valuable source of knowledge concerning the Hurrian language. As is well known, the ritual patrons are King Tudḫaliya II/III - Tašmi-šarri and his wife Queen Tadu-Ḫeba.

The tablets of the *itkalzi* come from the collections of texts discovered in the Hittite capital and in Building A at Šapinuwa (Ortaköy), a town that was one of the royal residences of King Tudḫaliya II/III.

None of the colophons of the *itkalzi* mentions the name of an expert to whom either the performance or the “authorship” of this ritual can be attributed, unlike the rituals credited to Maštigga, Ammiḫatna, and Giziya, for example.

The *itkalzi* was transmitted in different recensions, namely the original Hurrian composition and three different texts that derived from it.¹ The colophon of tablets ChS I/1 7 and 8,² which preserves a shortened recension of the original composition, states that these two texts were “excerpted”³ from the set of twenty-two tablets that had been brought from Šapinuwa (Haas 1984: 78–79, 84; Waal 2015: 526).

¹ We do not take into consideration here the recension documented from tablets ChS I/1 7 and 8 because they are badly damaged, and we cannot say whether they referred to rituals performed for the Hittite king or for an anonymous ritual patron (de Martino 2017).

² See ChS I/1 7 iv 1'–7' and ChS I/1 8 iv 7'–14'.

³ Literally: “We have excerpted (*ḫanteurauen*) these tablets from the twenty-two tablets that they brought from Šapinuwa.” On the verbal expression *ḫanteurauen*, see HW² III Ḫ 13, 173–174.

1.1. *The Original Recension*

At present, only four tablets of the ritual belonging to the recension of twenty-two tablets are known, namely the third tablet, ChS I/1 20, ChS I/1 6, and the eleventh tablet. The third tablet is documented from at least five manuscripts, four from Ḫattuša (ChS I/1 19, ChS I/1 21+ ChS I/8 242, ChS I/1 23, and ChS I/1 25) and one from Šapinuwa, Or 90/1473 (de Martino and Süel 2015). One of these tablets, ChS I/1 23, is a copy dating to the 13th century BC, while the other manuscripts belong to the time of Tudḫaliya II/III (de Martino–Süel 2015: 9–12). The survival of a tablet written more than one century after the time of Tudḫaliya II/III witnesses the interest that this ritual continued to arouse among the scribes and ritualists of the late 13th century BC.

The preserved portions of the third tablet are in Hurrian, and we assume that the original recension of the ritual was exclusively, or at least mostly, composed in Hurrian. Notwithstanding, the colophon of the third tablet is in Hittite, like all the other colophons of the *itkalzi*, and this is not an exceptional case; in fact, as Waal (2015: 506) argued, the colophons of texts written in languages other than Hittite “follow the same patterns as comparable texts composed in Hittite”.

The third tablet only documents a long incantation aimed at purifying the queen’s body, and the ritualist who recited the incantation spoke of Tadu-Ḫeba in the third-person singular with only one exception, in §3, where the queen was addressed in the second person (de Martino–Süel 2015: 15). The body parts that are mentioned in these passages are the head, the mouth, the tongue, and the lips, as well as the spittle. The verbal forms occurring in these passages are in either the optative or the purposive mood, thus expressing the wish that the queen’s body may indeed become pure.⁴ Four verbs are arranged progressively according to their meaning in each sentence: “may the body of the ritual patron Tadu-Ḫeba, (her) mouth, tongue, lips, spittle, body, (her) whole body become clear, pure, strong (and) clean!” (de Martino–Süel 2015).

A twin text, which preserves an incantation almost identical to the one documented from the third tablet, is preserved in text ChS I/1 20. The purpose of this incantation is the purification of the king’s body. We cannot establish the position of this tablet in the series with certainty because the colophon is not preserved (de Martino 2016).

Tablet ChS I/1 6 is in Hurrian and contains a long invocation of the purifying power of the water that flows from certain springs and rivers. It also documents an incantation whose purpose was the purification of the queen’s body and is comparable with the one transmitted on the third tablet. The colophon at the end of ChS I/1 6 states that the rites performed with water end with this tablet (de Martino–Süel 2017: 42–44).

The eleventh tablet of the series is only preserved on a manuscript from Šapinuwa (Or 90/393 + Or 90/150). It is written in Hurrian and reports rites performed by using a magical substance called *tuḡalzi*, a term whose meaning remains unknown; it also occurs in Hurro-Hittite rituals as a *Heilsterminus* (de Martino–Murat–Süel 2013).

⁴ See the verbal forms ending either in *-ož=ill=and=i=n* (Campbell 2015, 222–237), or in *-o=l=ae=ž* (Campbell 2015: 183–204).

In the paragraph at the end of the fourth column in this text, the ritualist wishes that Tudḫaliya II/III and Tadu-Ḫeba may love each other (de Martino–Murat–Süel 2013: 145). This wish, and the repeated incantations aiming at purifying the body of the royal couple, support the assumption that the ritual was originally performed on the occasion of Tadu-Ḫeba’s wedding with Tudḫaliya II/III (de Martino 2017: 28).

1.2. *The “Great itkalzi” Recension*

Tablets ChS I/1 5 and Or 90/1473, respectively from Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa, document a recension of the *itkalzi* that could have been performed for any ritual patron. This recension is clearly an adaptation of the original composition. According to the palaeographical analysis, both tablets were presumably written at the time of Tudḫaliya II/III or shortly thereafter (de Martino–Süel 2017).

The colophons of the two aforementioned tablets indicate that they belong to the “Great *itkalzi*” series. The colophon is fragmentary, and the sign that refers to the sequence number of the tablet in this recension of the ritual is damaged; it could be read as either “two” or “three” (de Martino–Süel 2017, 13–15).

The expression “Great *itkalzi*” may refer to the fact that this recension, even though it had been adapted from the Hurrian ritual written on twenty-two tablets, still contained some of the long Hurrian incantations and litanies of the original composition. This is true of the invocation of sacred springs and rivers, which is also preserved in ChS I/1 6, a tablet that belonged to the original Hurrian recension of the ritual (de Martino–Süel 2017).

The “Great *itkalzi*” tablet also documents a lengthy invocation of deities. They are invoked two by two, namely, Umbu and Nikkal, Ḫudena and Ḫudellura, Šawoška and Nabarbi, Ea and Damkina, and Aya and Ekaldu (de Martino–Süel 2017: 54–64). These deities are called on to ensure the successful purification of the ritual water. The incantation priest pronounces a series of magic words that refer to the semantic sphere of purity, and these words are declaimed several times. The repetition likely strengthened the magical power and effect of the litany. These words are *šegur=ni* “life”, *itk=umme* “purity”, *ḫan=u=(m)b=asbe* “fertility”, *tad=ar=eški* “love, loving kindness”, and *enigaldi*, whose exact meaning is not yet known (de Martino–Süel 2017: 60–61).

Some of the pronounced magic words also occur, for example, in ChS I/1 6, a tablet of the original Hurrian composition, but in a different context. Thus, in the absence of a similar invocation in the original Hurrian recension, but also in consideration of its incompleteness, we cannot say whether the litany preserved on ChS I/1 5 and its duplicate tablet from Šapinuwa was already part of the Hurrian original text of the *itkalzi* that had been performed for Tudḫaliya II/III and his wife, or if it was an addition of the scribes who wrote the “Great *itkalzi*” recension.

1.3. *The Ten-Tablet Recension*

The ritualists and scribes, who are the “authors” of the recensions of the *itkalzi*-ritual derived from the original composition, introduced new and different elements, as in the case of the ten-tablet recension for an anonymous ritual patron.

This recension is attested on the last tablet of this series, ChS I/1 9, which is written in Hittite and Hurrian. Tablet Or 90/1298 from Šapinuwa preserves a duplicate of ChS I/1 9. Both texts can be dated to the time of Tudḫaliya II/III or shortly later.

Unlike the original recension, where Tudḫaliya/Tašmi-šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba are often named as the ritual patrons, several passages in ChS I/1 9 state that the ritualist pronounces the name of the ritual patron without specifying it. Furthermore, this recension of the *itkalzi* was formulated for use with either a male or a female patron. As Miller (2004: 504) wrote: “One of the most blatantly prescriptive texts is the tenth tablet of the *itkalzi* ritual. Practically every rite in the composition is imagined as for either a man or a woman, depending on who the ritual patron is.”

The rites start when the ritualist has pronounced the words of the *warši*-vessel, a word whose meaning remains unknown (Haas 2003: 780). The rites described in the first column of ChS I/1 9 are performed near the fireplaces that are aligned on the two sides of the building.

The main feature of this part of the ritual is the rite of beating a *kupti*-object for each of the mentioned deities. The word *kupti* may be of Hurrian origin (Puhvel 1997: 260; Richter 2012: 226), but we cannot specify its meaning. The Nuzi text HSS 13.387 documents the word *kupta*, which has been considered equivalent to Hurrian *kupti*, and the editors of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* translate this word as “pile (of bricks)”.⁵

The word *kupti* is also documented in the Ammiḫatna ritual (CTH 471); here seven small birds and one kid are put on a *kupti* (§ 32). Thus, Strauss (2006: 238) assumed that *kupti* was a “Herdaltar”. In ChS I/1 9, however, as well as in the ritual of Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Madi (I 53–55, Strauss 2006: 80–81), the *kupti*-object is beaten (*walḫ-*), and hence Haas (1994: 638) interpreted the word *kupti* as “Pfahl”. On the basis of these same passages, Schul (2004: 129) argued that the term *kupti* could refer to a musical instrument, likely a drum. In the latter case, the sound produced by banging the *kupti* was likely intended to summon the deities. We argue that the *kupti* must have been something that indeed produced a sound when beaten, but not necessarily a drum; it could have referred, for example, to either a stool or a small table on which offerings could be placed.

The rite of beating a *kupti* is not documented on any of the other preserved tablets of the original Hurrian recension of the *itkalzi*-ritual, and thus we assume that it is a new feature introduced into the ten-tablet recension.

In ChS I/1 9 the *kupti*-object is beaten for several deities, namely Teššob, Ḫebat-Sun-goddess of Arinna, Kumarbi, Šaluš-Bitinḫi, Ea, Šawoška-Damkina, Kušuḫ, Umbu-Nikkal, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and Aya-Ekaldū, as well as for the male gods and the female deities. All these deities occur in other texts and recensions of the *itkalzi*-ritual, except for the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Steitler (2017: 310) argued that the occurrence of the name of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the ten-tablet recension of the *itkalzi*-ritual, where we would expect to find Šimige, was a scribal error. We assume instead that the repeated mention of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, initially paired with Ḫebat, and later alone, was consciously introduced in this recension with the aim of adapting the performance of the *itkalzi*-ritual for a Hittite context and for a Hittite ritual patron.

⁵ CAD A II 4, K 555b; see also Strauss 2006: 89.

In one passage of ChS I/1 9 (iv 23–26), the ritualist recites an incantation aiming at purifying his/her body parts: “may the mouth, the tongue, the lips, the spittle, the body, the head, the whole body become clean before the gods”. This sentence recalls the very similar invocations documented from the third tablet of the *itkalzi*-ritual, devoted to the purification of Tadu-Ḫeba (de Martino and Süel 2015), as well as those preserved in ChS I/1 20 that refer to Tudḫaliya II/III’s body (de Martino 2016).

As was said, tablet ChS I/1 9, while preserving several features of the original Hurrian recension of the *itkalzi*, also introduces new elements. Since some of them, such as the *kupti*-rite, show analogies with the ritual of Ammiḫatna (CTH 471), Strauss (2006: 187) assumed that the latter may have been the model for the composition of ChS I/1 9.⁶

1.4. *The Production of the Tablets of the Recensions Derived from the Original One*

We are in the dark as far as the contemporary production of the “fill-in-the-blank” recensions of the *itkalzi*-ritual, and we wonder who promoted them and what their ultimate purpose was. Since the tablets of these recensions were preserved at Šapinuwa as well as at Ḫattuša, they could have been written in any of these towns. Nevertheless, the colophon preserved on the tablets ChS I/1 7 and 8 states that these texts were excerpted from the original set of texts from Šapinuwa, as was already said, and thus we could imagine that the twenty-two tablets recension, which was stored in Building A at Šapinuwa, was the model used for writing the shortened Hurro-Hittite recensions.

The colophon at the end of tablet ChS I/1 5, a text belonging to the “Great *itkalzi*” Recension, differs from its duplicate from Šapinuwa, Or 90/1473, in that the name of the town Zithara, where the ritual was likely performed, is wrongly written as Zitharpa. We share Waal’s assumption (2015: 526–527) that ChS I/1 5 is corrupt here, and this leads us to argue that this tablet from Ḫattuša is a copy of the one preserved at Šapinuwa.

Campbell (2015: 69; 2016: 7 n. 22) proposed that the *itkalzi*-ritual was originally performed to increase the fertility of Queen Tadu-Ḫeba.⁷ We cannot say whether Tudḫaliya II/III’s former wife, Šadandu-Ḫeba, had already given him a child, though we assume that Tudḫaliya the Younger, the royal prince killed by Šuppiluliuma I, may have been her son. Our assumption is supported by the fact that Tadu-Ḫeba took the part of Šuppiluliuma I after his *coup d’état*.⁸

Šuppiluliuma I, who had married Tadu-Ḫeba’s daughter Ḫenti, could take power only after the assassination of Tudḫaliya the Younger and the exile of the latter’s brothers (de Martino 2022: 230–231). We cannot say if these princes were born from Sadandu-Ḫeba, or from a secondary wife. Nevertheless, Tudḫaliya II/III likely had offspring even before having married Tadu-Ḫeba, thus the performance of the *itkalzi*, if it indeed aimed at increasing the fertility of the queen, was not due to the lack of a heir, but aimed to bless the royal couple and assure them a happy married life.

⁶ The Kizzuwatnean character of text ChS I/1 9 is also underlined by Trémouille (2008: 309).

⁷ Differently Haas (1994: 192) argued that the *itkalzi* was a “kathartisches Inthronisationsritual”; see also Strauss 2006: 167–170.

⁸ See de Martino 2013.

The echo of the performance of such a long and complex ritual among the members of the court may have given an impetus to its transformation into a ritual to be performed for any patron. The “fill in the blank” recensions may also have been the product of experts who reworked the prescriptive part and the incantations, and the contribution of ritualists acquainted with the Kizzuwatnean ritualistic tradition can surely be detected in the tablet ChS I/1 9.

2. DISCUSSION

The inclusion of the *itkalzi* in the frame of the Kizzuwatnean rituals in the secondary literature⁹ was precisely due to the similarities between the tablet ChS I/1 9 and the Ammiḫatna ritual. A connection between the Ammiḫatna ritual and the *itkalzi* may indeed be inferred from the catalogue tablet KBo 31.26 + 30 47 (obv. I 7'–8'), where the word *itkalzi* appears in a fragmentary context and the name of Ammiḫatna occurs in the following line (Dardano 2006: 233; Strauss 2006: 188). Furthermore, the mention of Pilliya, king of Kizzuwatna, in this same tablet (obv. i 12') puts both these rituals into the frame of the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition.

As far as the deities most frequently mentioned in the original Hurrian recension of the *itkalzi*, namely, Ḫebat, Nikkal, and Šawoška, they belong to the Kizzuwatnean pantheon. Šawoška is a pan-Hurrian deity and her cult was diffused in upper Mesopotamia as well as in Syria and Anatolia.¹⁰ Nikkal, the wife of the Moon-God, bears a name that is the Hurrian form of that of the Sumerian goddess NIN.GAL. She was venerated in Western Syria and Anatolia.¹¹ Finally, Ḫebat was not a real pan-Mittanian deity, but only a Western Syrian goddess who was venerated in Kizzuwatna (Trémouille 1997; Hutter 2021: 166).

In contrast, some portions of the *itkalzi* show features that do not find any direct parallel in the known Kizzuwatnean rituals. This is the case of the invocation of the purifying action of the water of several springs (*tarmān(i)=na*) and rivers (*šie=na*). They are invoked in two incantations documented, respectively, from ChS I/1 6, a tablet that we consider part of the original Hurrian recension, as well as from ChS I/1 5 and Or 90/1473, which belong to the “Great *itkalzi*-recension”.¹²

These springs and rivers are localised near mountains and towns, namely, Mount Kažiyari, Mount Pižaiža, Mount Amarikku, the town of Talmušše, Mount Ḫažimari, Nineveh, Nawar, Mount Nabri, Urkeš, the Šitarbu River, and the city of Šinut. Particularly significant is the wide geographical horizon of this invocation. Mount Kažiyari is generally identified with the hilly Tur 'Abdin region that lies in south-eastern Turkey. Mount Pižaiža may have been located in western Syria, where Mount Amarikku also was; in fact, the latter

⁹ See Strauss 2006; Trémouille 2008: 309; Hutter 2021: 134.

¹⁰ See Haas 1994: 345–350; Taracha 2009: 119.

¹¹ See Taracha 2009: 127–128.

¹² Anyhow, we mention that offerings to sacred mountains and springs are documented in the tenth tablet of the *ḫišuwa*-Festival that belongs to the Kizzuwatnean religious tradition, see Haas 1994: 867. On this festival see now Doğan-Alparslan 2020a and 2020b.

may be identified with *Jebel Se mān*, located in the district of the modern governorate of Aleppo.

With the place name *Talmo/ušši* we move to the east; this toponym could refer to a town in the region of Nineveh. This city is also mentioned after Mount *Ḫažimari*, which was likely located in the Lower Zab region. *Nawar* may refer to the Upper Khabur area, where Mount *Nabri* and *Urkeš* (Tell Mozan) were also located.¹³ Finally, the place name *Šitarbu* only occurs in another Hittite tablet, the votive text KUB 56.31 rev. 13'–16' (de Roos 2007: 279–283). Here it is said that the queen, likely *Pudu-Ḫeba*, who was in the western Anatolian town of *Iyalanda*, made a vow to the *Šitarbu* River. In the following passages of this text, the queen offers goods to *Ḫebat* of Aleppo, *Ištar* of Aleppo, *Ištar* of *Mušunib*¹⁴, and to “whatever *Ištar* of the land of *Hurri* may be altogether”. Thus, even the name *Šitarbu* likely referred to a place in the Hurro-Mittanian region, though we cannot say where exactly it lies.

Thus, the listed place names define a wide geographical area that comprehends the Middle Tigris region, the Upper Khabur, and western Syria. This area approximately corresponds to the extension of the kingdom of Mittani.

Another passage in the eleventh tablet refers to the Middle Tigris region. In Or 90/393 + (obv. I 21'–27'), some wine (*šuwala*) is given for the *itkalzi*, for offerings (?), and finally for the feast.¹⁵ The expression *abalḡe Maradaman=ni* occurs after each of the three sentences. Gernot Wilhelm (oral communication) suggested a connection between the term *abalḡe* and the word *abli*, documented from the Mittani Letter (I 85), which could refer to some degree of goodness. Diversely, Richter (2012, 40) translates *abli* as “present”. Thus, *abal=ḡe Mardaman=ni* may be interpreted as either “a present from Mardaman”, or “a delicacy from Mardaman”. If this is the correct interpretation of this passage, then the wine mentioned in the earlier passage would have come from Mardaman/Bassetki.

Wine may indeed have been produced in the Upper Tigris region. The archaeological expedition conducted by the University of Udine in the area of Nineveh has recently discovered a series of basins carved in the rock that were used for grape pressing in the production of wine, though they likely date to the first millennium BC.¹⁶

We wonder where the tradition of these invocations and passages of the *itkalzi* ritual could come from. They may echo ancient traditions, whose origin was either in Kizzuwatna, or in Western Syria, or elsewhere in Upper Mesopotamia where Hurrian communities lived. The linguistic layer of the recensions of the *itkalzi* is the Old Hurrian dialect known from the Anatolian Hurrian rituals that differs from the language of the Mittanian royal chancery. Unfortunately, no magic rituals coming from the core of Mittani are available, and thus we cannot compare the *itkalzi* with any Mittanian document of this genre.

¹³ See de Martino and Süel 2017: 42–43, with previous literature.

¹⁴ See Wegner 1981: 187.

¹⁵ On this possible translation of the passage, see de Martino–Murat–Süel 2013: 140–141.

¹⁶ See *Qui UNIUD: E-magazine Università degli Studi di Udine*, December 2021, <https://qui.uniud.it/ricerca-e-innovazione/gli-archeologi-dellateneo-friulano-riportano-alla-luce-le-vasche-per-il-vino-e-gli-acquedotti-degli-assiri/>.

The original recension of the *itkalzi*-ritual likely mirrors the multi-cultural character of the Hurrian communities. We assume that the ritual may be the result of the collaboration of ritual experts from different regions, such as Kizzuwatna and Western Syria. They drew from a patrimony of incantations and litanies that could have been transmitted either orally or in written form and were re-adapted and rephrased to suit the royal ritual patrons.

The question of why the Hittite king specifically requested a Hurrian purification ritual remains without a convincing answer. As is well known, the members of the Hittite royal family began to become familiar with the Hurrian language and heritage starting with the reign of Tudḫaliya I, and this has been attributed to the possible Kizzuwatnean origin of his wife Nikkal-madi (de Martino 2022, 222–227). Certainly, the number of Hurrian texts in the tablet collections of Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa increased exponentially during the reign of Tudḫaliya II/III and Tadu-Ḫeba.

We wonder whether Tadu-Ḫeba may have been responsible for the predilection for the Hurrian language and Hurrian traditions at the Hittite court. We are in the dark about her family origin. She, as well as Šadandu-Ḫeba, bore a name composed with the theonym Ḫebat, and similar feminine names were borne by the women of the Mittanian royal family. There is no evidence that Tadu-Ḫeba may have belonged to the Mittanian royal family, and no Hittite source mentions an inter-dynastic wedding between the royal house of Hatti and that of Mittani before the marriage of Šuppiluliuma I's daughter with Šattiwaza. We might assume that Tadu-Ḫeba came from either the Kizzuwatnean aristocracy, or the ruling class of a Western-Syrian polity under Mittanian sovereignty. Although this is pure speculation, we cannot exclude it since political relations between Hatti and the Western-Syrian polities became closer under the reign of Tudḫaliya II/III.¹⁷

In support of this assumption, we mention the tablet discovered at Kayalıpınar, the ancient city of Šamuḫa (Kp 05/226), that preserves a document of uncertain genre, possibly a letter, written in Hurrian (Wilhelm 2019, 199). It describes a military campaign into the region of Mukiš that can be dated either to the time of Tudḫaliya I, or to the reign of Tudḫaliya II/III (Wilhelm 2018b, 475 n. iii and von Dassow in this volume). The presence of the Hittite army in the region of Ugarit could be connected to tablet Or 90/1541, discovered at Ortaköy/Šapinuwa. It preserves a copy of a letter sent by the king of Ḫatti to a Syrian ruler who likely was the king of Ugarit, a polity that is mentioned in ll. 12'–17'. This text can be attributed to the Hittite sovereign Tudḫaliya II/III, like the other tablets discovered in Building A at Šapinuwa. It is possible that Ugarit formed an alliance with Ḫatti when Tudḫaliya II/III started his expeditions into western Syria (Schwemer-Süel 2021, 57).

A hypothetical origin of Tadu-Ḫeba from either Kizzuwatna or Western Syria could well fit a political scenario in which Tudḫaliya II/III aimed to obtain consent and support from the Syrian polities and the Hurrian communities on the eve of the Hittite conquest of Mittani, which his follower Šuppiluliuma I eventually accomplished.

¹⁷ On Mukiš and its relations with Hatti, see von Dassow 2020.

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HURRIAN(S) IN KIZZUWATNA: AN OLD TOPOS RECONSIDERED

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Abstract

This paper argues that the traditional view of the presence of a substantial Hurrian speaking population in Kizzuwatna has no evidential basis. It is not supported by (top)onomastic evidence and the alleged Hurrian substrate of Luwian does not exist. Hurrian loanwords of Kizzuwatna Luwian are ritual terms and Wanderwörter that do not prove the presence of such a population. The evidence points to a cross-linguistically well-known and historically likely situation, i.e. exclusively cultural influences.

1. STATE OF THE FIELD

It is well known that Kizzuwatna served as a channel of transmission for Hurrian religious traditions and onomastics towards the Hittite Empire. However, the research assumes a much deeper connection between Kizzuwatna and the Hurrians, since it is a *communis opinio* that a substantial part of Kizzuwatna's population spoke Hurrian (the other substantial part speaking Luwian). I must emphasise that these authors are specifically referring to a Hurrian population which spoke Hurrian, and not to the generally accepted presence or usage of the Hurrian language, which does not in itself necessarily imply the presence of a Hurrian speaking population. This view appears in practically all handbooks and several specialised studies in Hittitology,¹ and, accordingly, even in a general Ancient Near

¹ Goetze 1962: 48 (assuming immigrating Hurrians); Kümmel 1976–1980: 629 ('gemischte Bevölkerung'); Lebrun 1980: 23 ('deux peuples (...) se partageaient (...), d'une part, des Louvites (...), d'autre part, les Hourrites'), 2007: 242 ('peuplé majoritairement de Hourrites (...) et de Louvites'); Beal 1986: 425 n. 3 ('Hurrian constituted a considerable percentage of the population'); Houwink ten Cate 1995: 268 ('shared by Luwian population groups (...) and Hurrians'); Wilhelm 1999 ('von luwisch- und hurritischsprachigen Bevölkerungsteilen bewohnt[e]'), 2004: 96 ('Hurrian-speaking parts of southern Anatolia [Kizzuwatna]'); Freu 2001: 17 (assuming immigrating Hurrians); Stefanini 2002: 789 (a 'substratum prevailingly Hurrian (or East-Caucasian)' [*sic*]); Bryce 2003: 88–89 ('Luwians and Hurrians constituted the two predominant groups'), 2009: 322 ('a substantial Hurrian element in its population'), 392, 2019: 62 (one of the two major population groups); Popko 2008: 148 (assuming immigrating Hurrian population groups); Yakubovich 2010: 51 ('Kizzuwatna had a mixed Hurrian and Luwian population'), 53, 2015: §2 ('Luwian and Hurrian bilingual communities'), 2022: 20, 2023: 304–309; Klengel 2011: 36 ('the Hurrian population in south-eastern Asia Minor'); Novák–Rutishauser 2017: 134 ('inhabited by Luwians and Hurrians alike'); Kloekhorst 2019: 268 ('Kizzuwatna was (...) also home to Hurrian speakers'); Rutishauser 2020: 45 ('das vorherrschende

Eastern handbook (Van de Mieroop 2007: 124, according to whom the Hurrian population was even ‘dominant’ in Kizzuwatna). Some scholars even state that Luwians inhabited the western part of the region with the Hurrians concentrated in the east (see, e.g. Lebrun 1980: 23 [west (sea-coast and Cilicia along the Taurus) vs. northeast], 2007: 242; Houwink ten Cate 1995: 268 [Luwians in the southwest and Hurrian in the north (such as Kummanni)]; however, according to Bryce 2003: 89, ‘the mixture of personal names indicates a relatively high degree of intermingling between the two groups’. The only disagreement is the question of whether the Luwians were there first and the Hurrians immigrated or, conversely, whether the Hurrians were there first and the Luwians immigrated.²

Moreover, the presence of a Hurrian speaking population in Kizzuwatna is taken for granted, and thus many authors do not even give a reference for it.³ If they provide any reference, they at best refer to the above-quoted Kizzuwatna entry by Kümmel in the *RIA*;⁴ at worst, they refer to tertiary literature that refers again to Kümmel.⁵ The exceptions are Kloekhorst 2019: 268 and Melchert 2020: 244 (both refer to Yakubovich 2010: 272–285; former refers also to Miller 2004: 256, who, however, talks only about spoken languages in the period under the influence of Mittani) and Yakubovich 2022: 20 (who refers to Melchert 2020: 244). At a quick glance, this makes sense since Kümmel’s entry was published in a renowned handbook, and thus, clearly expressed the hypothesis that not only the Hurrian language and culture but also a Hurrian-speaking population was present (1976–1980: 629: ‘eine gemischte Bevölkerung’; although note that Imparati 1964: 7, 62, 119 had claimed practically the same already, just less explicitly). But if we look more closely at Kümmel’s text, we see that his claim is based on very thin evidence, i.e. nothing more than ‘nach dem Zeugnis der Personennamen’ (1976–1980: 629; also Freu 2001: 17), since we find Hurrian names among the royals and the ritual experts (without examples or references; also Imparati’s evidence consists of unspecified onomastics).

Bevölkerungselement wird Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends von Luwiern und Hurritern gebildet’); Melchert 2020: 244; Trameri 2024: 111–126, 461–463 (cautiously [arguing that one might count with both population groups only originally] and partly contradictory, since he concludes in §3.3.3 that Hurrian was the language of the elite). Note that Novák assumed earlier only the spread of the language, but not that of the population, see Novák 2010: 403: ‘Spätestens gegen Ende der Mittelbronzezeit haben sich die hurritische Sprache und Religion in Kilikien verbreitet. Ob, wann und von wo hurritischsprachige Populationsgruppen zugewandert sind, kann zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt nicht genau bestimmt werden (...). Das hurritische Element scheint nach Aussage des bislang bekannten Onomastikons zumindest ab dem dritten Viertel des 2. Jt. v. Chr. in Kilikien neben dem luwischen bestimmend gewesen zu sein’.

² For the former Goetze 1962: 48; Imparati 1964: 7; Freu 2001: 17; Popko 2008: 148; for the latter Stefanini 2002: 789 and Yakubovich 2010: 53, 2022: 20.

³ Goetze 1962: 48; Kümmel 1976–1980; Lebrun 1980: 23, 2007: 242; Houwink ten Cate 1995: 268; Wilhelm 1999, 2004: 96; Van de Mieroop 2007: 124; Poko 2008: 148; Bryce 2009: 322, 392; Yakubovich 2010: 51; Klengel 2011: 36; Bryce 2019: 62. Of course, some of them are entries in reference works and thus, do not give references, just bibliographies, but this saves only Houwink ten Cate 1995, Wilhelm 1999, and Bryce 2009.

⁴ Beal 1986: 425 n. 3 (adding Goetze 1940: 5–7, but he formulated this more vaguely [‘part of the Hurrian territory’]) and Bryce 2003: 88–89 (adding Houwink ten Cate 1995: 268), 2009: 392.

⁵ Novák–Rutishauser 2017: 134 to Bryce 2003: 88–89 and Klinger 2001, which is a false reference, since he did not discuss this topic; Rutishauser 2020: 45 to Bryce 2003: 88–89.

Next to these authors who just repeat this historiographical topos, we find only very few scholars who provide evidence of a Hurrian-speaking population in Kizzuwatna, and almost all of them appear in relatively recent publications (setting aside Stefanini's Hurrian substratum based only on Luwian – Northeastern Caucasian *kl̥ing-kl̥ang* “etymologies”):

- (a) Yakubovich 2010: 50–53 cites the structural influence of Hurrian on Luwian (see also 2015: §2 and 2023: 305–308, in 2022: 20, referring to Melchert 2020: 244, he cites also the Hurrian loanwords).
- (b) Melchert 2020: 244 cites the structural evidence assumed by Yakubovich (as does Kloekhorst 2019: 268, both ignoring the refutation in Simon 2016: 325–330, cf. below) and the Hurrian loanwords and Hurrianisms in Luwian rituals originating in Kizzuwatna.
- (c) The onomastic argument was used not only by Kümmel 1976–1989: 629, who, as we saw, cites the names of local rulers and ritual experts; but also by Houwink ten Cate 1995: 268, who cited the Tarsus land grant; Freu 2001: 17 (who referred to unspecified Cilician names); and Novák–Rutishauser 2017: 134 and Rutishauser 2020: 45, who also referred to unspecified personal names. Although none of these authors specify any personal names, Bryce 2003: 89 and Rutishauser 2020: 45 went as far as to claim that these personal names even show a significant intermingling between the two groups.
- (d) Finally, it was only Andrea Trameri who presented a complex argument for the (original) presence of Hurrian-speaking groups. He did it on two grounds: cultural-religious and linguistic.

First, in Trameri's view, the rapid and virtually complete substitution of any preceding local religious tradition leaving only very few local traces is improbable and the implied philo-Hurrian 15th c. elite in Kizzuwatna adopting Hurrian traditions does not reconcile well with the linguistic situation. Therefore, the existence of a Hurrian population must be assumed (2024: 111–113, 462–463). Nevertheless, this is not a conclusive argument (one can think of the rapid Christianisation of some pagan countries orchestrated by their elite, leaving hardly any traces of previous beliefs, such as in Hungary, notably even introducing a new official language, Latin).

As for the linguistic situation, Trameri 2024: 118–122 acknowledged that it would be important if Hurrian were indeed a substrate language of Luwian, but he correctly noted that this is disputed and thus, he did not use it as an argument. Instead, he argued that as far as the local Hurrian dialect can be judged by our sources from Ḫattuša, the Hurrian dialect of Kizzuwatna cannot be Mittanian, and thus, cannot be attributed to cultural contacts, especially since it shows archaic features as in East Hurrian (2024: 116–118). The problem with this conclusion is manifold: first, Ḫattuša Hurrian is notably mixed (Trameri admitted this), e.g. one can find isoglosses with Mittani, too, including the isogloss that separates East and West Hurrian as pointed out by Trameri himself. Second, the retention of the archaic traits shared by the Eastern material can easily be explained as Eastern / Western periphery (i.e. west but outside Kizzuwatna) versus central Mittani that must reflect a local variety; not to mention, third, that the presence of archaisms may simply be due to their transmission.

This is all the evidence provided and they will be discussed below in detail. One might ask at this juncture why no dissenting views have been mentioned. It is because they barely exist; I can only present the following:

On the one hand, my own cursory warning (Simon 2016: 326) that the evidence presented up to now (isolated names, Hurrian loans in Kizzuwatna Luwian, and the Hurrian influence in the local rituals) do not suffice. On the other hand, the cautious words of de Martino 2016: 16: ‘la consistenza etno-linguistica di Kizzuwatna in questo periodo è difficile da determinare, né possiamo stabilire con sicurezza quanta parte della popolazione fosse hurrita’.

2. ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE TRACES

I emphasise again that the claim investigated here is the presence of a Hurrian population in Kizzuwatna and not the presence of Hurrian cultural traits, which is a completely different issue and does not require any Hurrian population. Since we do not have explicit references to a Hurrian population group living in Kizzuwatna, the only way to confirm the existence of a Hurrian speaking population in Kizzuwatna is linguistics based on the usual groups of evidence: grammatical influences, lexical influences (i.e. loanwords), and onomastics (personal names and toponymy). Needless to say, these groups of evidence have very different value; I will address this shortly. Finally, also the implication must be mentioned that since this question can be investigated only linguistically, any discussions regarding identity and ethnicity must be left aside.⁶

2.1. *Hurrian Grammatical Influence on Kizzuwatna Luwian*

This would be the clearest and strongest evidence for the presence of a Hurrian speaking population. The idea itself is not new; some scholars have already tried to detect Hurrian grammatical influence on Kizzuwatna Luwian, notably Ruggero Stefanini, Silvia Luraghi, and Ilya Yakubovich. As mentioned above, Melchert and Kloekhorst accepted Yakubovich’s theory and, together with Yakubovich, all of them used this to prove the presence of a Hurrian speaking population in Kizzuwatna.

I extensively dealt with all these hypotheses in my 2016 paper (2016: 325–330), so I only recapitulate the problems here:

As for the first two scholars, Stefanini 1969: 299 and Luraghi 2008: 145 saw Hurrian influence in the fact that the possessor shows case endings after the genitive ending. However, this is a Luwic and thus, Proto-Luwic development that must have happened already in the 3rd mill. BC in Anatolia, when we can certainly exclude any Hurrian sub- or adstrate. Luraghi assumed a wave-like spread out of Kizzuwatna, which assumes the phonetic closeness

⁶ There is an ongoing refinement of our knowledge on Luwian dialectology, and thus, I feel necessary to define that I use ‘Kizzuwatna Luwian’ in its ‘traditional’ (or broad) sense, as it was defined in Yakubovich 2010: 15–73, 2023: 287–291 and Melchert 2013: 168 to include the most possible piece of evidence for the present investigation.

of these suffixes (which is not the case) and a series of bilingual populations (e.g. Luwian-Lycian), for which there is absolutely no evidence.

As for Yakubovich, he suggested that the spread of the suffix *-anz-* in Kizzuwatna Luwian to indicate the plurality of the possessor in possessive adjectives is due to Hurrian influence since it is typologically uncommon to have a construction stem + case + number (i.e. stem-*ašša-anz-*), which requires special pleading, and since Hurrian, which has the same structure at the surface, is spoken in that area (2010: 51), it naturally provides an explanation. However, there are serious problems with all parts of this proposal:

First, Yakubovich's starting point is a methodological error, since typology means only tendencies, not laws, and thus, nothing here requires explanation.⁷ Second, this construction in Hurrian characterises only a minority of the cases, and thus, it is unlikely that they could influence another language. Third, and most importantly, Yakubovich's account is philologically wrong: there is nothing typologically uncommon here, since, synchronically, the construction is stem+suffix+number+case (stem-*ašša-anz-case*), in other words, Yakubovich's problem does not exist (the problem does not exist diachronically either). Finally, Yakubovich's explanation (which is about *-anz-*) does not even address the problem he thought he had identified (which is about *-ašša-*). Therefore, there is no evidence for Hurrian structural influence on Luwian.⁸

It is worth recalling the legacy of this paper: while Kloekhorst and Melchert ignored my refutation, Trameri 2024: 118, 121, Giusfredi 2020: 21¹⁴, 39³⁴, and Giusfredi–Pisaniello 2023: 279–280 duly noted it, but Giusfredi and Pisaniello maintained that Yakubovich's theory is correct, even claiming that it is 'extremely [sic] likely', although they have not addressed the problems I raised. Yakubovich himself keeps changing his views about the validity of his theory. First, he maintained his view in a 2022 handbook (without mentioning my refutation) but later abandoned his hypothesis – although not due to my criticism, but because A. Mouton and Yakubovich could demonstrate the existence of this construction also in Tauriša Luwian in Central Anatolia. In other words, it was either a common Luwian feature (that disappeared in Iron Age Luwian) or a feature of different Luwian dialects (Mouton and Yakubovich argued for the former), but it cannot be attributed to Hurrian influence in either case.⁹ However, most recently, Yakubovich has again revived his hypothesis: instead of addressing the problems raised above, he tries to incorporate the Tauriša evidence in his original hypothesis, advocating a diffusion from Kizzuwatna either as a part of the jargon of the incantations (either by the practitioners of the rituals or by

⁷ See already Simon 2016: 329–330 (this is not a 'misunderstanding', *contra* Yakubovich 2023: 304 n. 35).

⁸ Another conclusion of my paper was that the traditional explanation of the origin of *-anz-* (the paradigmatic levelling and reanalysis of *-anz-* that appears in four out of six cases anyway) is superior, but this has no relevance here.

⁹ See Mouton–Yakubovich 2021: 49–50 with n. 42: '(...) one can no longer invoke a language shift from Hurrian to Luwian as the direct trigger of this change. (...) Therefore, the critique raised in Simon 2016 against the scenario of Hurrian influence on the Luwian grammar appears to be justified, although for different reasons than those adduced in Simon's paper' (...) 'What remains possible is the hypothesis that when Anatolian (pre-Luwian speakers) reached central Anatolia, they encountered indigenous languages that were typologically similar to Hurrian in this area.'. Note that their conclusion is erroneous, precisely on the same grounds as the original hypothesis was.

Kizzuwatnean scribes who recorded them) or via migration or deportation (2023: 305–308). However, at the moment, these are all speculations, since Yakubovich first must demonstrate that his hypothesis on the origin of this construction is to be sought in a Hurrian substrate.

All in all, since no argument has been published that explains the problems I raised, I must conclude that the theory of the Hurrian grammatical influence on Kizzuwatna Luwian still awaits demonstration. Finally, for those who still want to use Yakubovich’s Hurrian substrate theory as evidence for the presence of the Hurrians, I call attention to the fact that this would be circular argumentation: the population was partly Hurrian; therefore the Luwian change was not internal, but rather induced by Hurrian; therefore, the population was partly Hurrian. This is obviously not an acceptable method of argumentation.

2.2. Hurrian Lexical Influence on Kizzuwatna Luwian

As we saw, Melchert used this argument to prove the presence of Hurrian population in Kizzuwatna. The argument is problematic in itself: First, one should distinguish between loanwords from neighbouring languages and the local substrate (and only this latter group would help us), which is not an easy task at all. Second, more importantly, we have to exclude those loanword types that are not useful: the *Wanderwörter* and the *termini technici*. Some words are present in our texts only due to their genre (*Fremdwörter*) and not because they are real loanwords (*Lehnwörter*); therefore, they do not imply a local population (e.g. you can use the term *Wanderwörter* in an English linguistics text published in Oxford, but it does not imply a German-speaking community in Oxford). Melchert addressed none of these problems when citing the Hurrian loanwords as an argument.

I investigated the issue of Hurrian loanwords in Luwian from a dialectological point of view, and I summarise here my results (Simon 2020a, which was of course published too late for Melchert to consider). In the meantime, Melchert (2024) has provided additional cases, but they only further support my conclusions, which are as follows:

Setting aside those words that belong to Empire Luwian, the dialectological position of two words is unknown (both belonging to the sphere of *termini technici*: *ḥamrit-* ‘cult-house, sanctuary’ and ^E*šīnapšī-* ‘a part of the temple’). I could find six words that belong to Kizzuwatna Luwian, to which Melchert (2024) could add three or four more, but all these words are either *termini technici*¹⁰ or typical culture words / *Wanderwörter*.¹¹

¹⁰ *āpit-* ‘sacrificial pit’; *entaššiya-* ‘pertaining to *entu*-priestesshood’; *nakkušī-* ‘scapegoat’; *talpurit-* ‘a sort of building/place in a ritual’.

¹¹ ^{DUG}*ḥupuwāya-* ‘a type of vessel’; ^{GIŠ}*irimpit-lirippit-* ‘cedar(-staff)’; ^{GIŠ}*kišḫit-* ‘chair, throne’, ^{GIŠ}*pāimit-* ‘tamarisk’, ^(GIŠ)*taprit-* ‘plinth, statue base’; and *ḥāpiriya-* ‘habiru’ (if it is Hurrian at all, see the references in Richter 2012: 128). Yakubovich 2023: 298 adds **šaur(a)-* ‘tool, weapon’, since he wants to see it in the hapax *wašḥašaura-*, but the context is not informative enough and the meaning of the first member of the alleged compound, *wašḥa-*, is hotly debated (cf. Simon 2020b, 2020c, and Melchert 2024 s.vv.).

Therefore, no substrate follows from the lexical influence. The general cultural contacts with Hurrian speaking Syrian neighbours perfectly explain all cases.¹²

2.3. Hurrian Personal Names

As we saw, this was *the* argument Kümmel presented that led to the general assumption of the existence of Hurrian population groups; unspecified names were given as *the* evidence also by Novák and Rutishauser, while Houwink ten Cate cited the names of a specific text. Note that this evidence is allegedly so strong that, according to Bryce 2003: 89 and Rutishauser 2020: 45, these personal names even prove a significant intermingling between the two groups.

Before addressing the specific names, I must emphasise that personal names belong to the weakest arguments, as the choice of personal names is frequently influenced by non-linguistic factors, such as genealogy, culture, politics, ideology, and fashion. This is especially true in the case of royal and ritual expert names, which Kümmel used as evidence, for obvious reasons: Kizzuwatna royal names happen to be Hurrian precisely during the period of Hurrian cultural influence (see the earlier, Anatolian names [*Pariyawatri* and *Išpu-dahšu*], followed by Hurrian *Eheya*, and perhaps *Palilliya* and *Talzu* [*Paddatiššu* is unclear, *Sunaššura* is perhaps Indo-Aryan], see most recently the overview in Trameri 2024: 463–469 with refs.) and the case of ritual experts can hardly be separated from this influence. In other words, this “evidence” proves nothing.

What we need is personal names from before or outside the Hurrian cultural influence, preferably those of commoners, no royal names or ritual experts. This is precisely Houwink ten Cate’s argument, the personal names from the Tarsus land grant mentioning the household or property of *Idahakap*, *Mantiya*, and *Kaza*[...] (at the time of Telipinu). There are two problems with this view:

First, Trameri 2023 convincingly argued that the tablet was issued in Ḫattuša (based on the mountain *Šaktu*[...] if identical to *Šaktunuwa* and the seal). This makes it improbable that these names can be used for the reconstruction of the linguistic landscape of Kizzuwatna.

Second, it is also questionable whether we are dealing with Hurrian names at all: Trameri refers to Goetze 1939: 4 and Beal 1986: 425 n. 3 (but adds in 2023: 325 n. 26 that ‘the analysis of these names as Hurrian remains difficult to ascertain’). Beal stated that at least one of them has a Hurrian name and refers to Goetze (who claimed that both are Hurrian) and in the case of *Mantiya* he referred to Laroche 1980: 166, who claimed it is Hurrian:

As for *Idahakap*, Goetze 1939: 4 analysed it as a Hurrian name with the widespread element *akap-* and an element *idah-*, which he compared to Nuzi *ith-* (see now Richter 2016: 405–406). The problem is that *akap-* appears either as the first element of compound names (verbal sentence names) or independently and not as the second element (Richter 2016: 367–368, 580). Thus, it cannot be identified as a Hurrian name.

¹² One could argue that this is expected since we have almost exclusively ritual texts in Kizzuwatna Luwian. While this is correct, the known Kizzuwatna Luwian vocabulary consists of significantly more than ritual terminology; thus, Hurrian loanwords should be detected in other semantic spheres as well, if they existed.

Goetze 1939: 4 analysed *Mantiya* as a Hurrian hypocoristic name based on its *-iya* and ‘without hesitation’ compared *mant-* with Nuzi *wanti-* / Hurrian *belant-* with an initial variation of *m/p/blw-*. This is clearly untenable and Laroche provided a different, formally likely explanation, from Hurrian *mandib* (accepted by Richter 2012: 242). While *-iya-* is not specific enough to attribute this name to Hurrian, I could not find any semantically likely root in Hittite or Luwian, since the only formally likely one, the base of Luwian *mantallali-* ‘slandered or slanderous’ (Melchert 2024: 146), does not really fit semantically.

In other words, we have a single Hurrian personal name from before the Mittani cultural influence, which might not even be connected to Kizzuwatna. This is very thin evidence for the assumption of a Hurrian population group in Kizzuwatna, not to mention the significant intermingling between Luwians and Hurrians.

2.4. Hurrian Toponymy

This would be again a strong argument and in theory, it could even help to create a relative chronology of the different language layers, though one must note the inherent problem of etymologising any toponym: if there is no clear independent evidence for its original meaning or its original meaning is not immediately transparent (type *Aquae Sextiae* > *Aix[-en-Provence]*), it is very hard to prove that the underlying stem is indeed the proposed substantive or adjective and not just incidentally homophonous. Next to this methodological issue, there are manifold practical problems with this type of evidence in Kizzuwatna:

First, there is considerable discussion of exactly which territories belonged to Kizzuwatna. Second, since the etymology of Anatolian toponyms is a rather neglected research area, most of the toponyms (within the generally agreed-upon part of Kizzuwatna) simply have no etymology. A quick glance at a selection of Kizzuwatnaean toponyms illustrates this problem (the following list is based on Hawkins 2000: 40 and Hawkins–Weeden 2017, for a full treatment see Kryszewski [this volume], who estimates the number of attested settlement names to 50–60, and that of the hydronyms and oronyms more than ten); only those names are italicised that can be more or less etymologised:

- 1) settlements: *Arušna*, Ataniya, Ellipra, Erimma, Hiya[...], Ingira, Izziya, Lahuwazantiya, Luwana, Pahari, *Paduwanda*, Pitura, *Šinuwanda*, Tarša, Durpina, Ušnanis, *Winuwanda*, *Zabarašna*, Zinziluwa, Zunnahara;¹³
- 2) rivers: Alda, Puru/ana, Šamri, Tarmanna;
- 3) mountains: Kalzatapa, Manuzziya, Zaratna.

Due to these factors, the Kizzuwatnaean toponymy (just like other parts of Anatolia) lacks an up-to-date and solid etymological analysis in the international Hittitological literature. A. Kryszewski kindly called my attention to the Russian paper of Šelestin 2020, in which he tries to provide an etymological assessment of 59 toponyms. However, the results

¹³ *Arušna* may be Luwian and *Zabarašna* Hattian (cf. Simon 2018, esp. 263–264, 267, 268 with refs.); *Paduwanda*, *Šinuwanda*, and *Winuwanda* show the Luwian/Hittite suffix *-want-* ‘having something’, which points either to a Hittite/Luwian or to a Hittitised/Luwianised toponym.

require further scrutiny due to his unclear methodology. That said, it is worth noting that according to his calculation, 54% of the toponyms are Hittite, Luwian, or Anatolian and only 27% could be Hurrian. Out of this 27%, however, only the following three can be relatively reliably identified as Hurrian in Šelestin's opinion: the hydronyms Alda (from Hurrian **alda*, allegedly attested in Hittite and Luwian *altanni-* 'spring') and Tarmanna (from Hurrian *tarmani* 'source'), and the city name Arana (from Hurrian *arana/i* 'gift'; Šelestin 2020: 266, 276, 267). However, a Hurrian origin cannot be ascertained in any of these cases: In the case of Arana, the precise meaning of the Hurrian word is 'Abgabe, Gabe' (de Martino–Giorgieri 2008: 101 and Richter 2012: 43, both with refs.), which is not conducive to this etymology. As for Luwian *altanni-* 'spring' (whence the Hittite word as a Luwianism), formally speaking it can also be an inner-Luwian derivation from **alta-* with the Luwian suffix *-annali-* (forming diminutives and possessive adjectives that might eventually be substantivised, Melchert 2003: 196); thus, Alda would be a Luwian name (for Indo-European etymological attempts see HEG A-K: 20 and HED A & E/I: 43). This is supported by the lack of the suffix *-id-* usually used for Luwianising Hurrian loans and by its derivative, *altannima*, attested in Istanuwa Luwic (KBo 4.11, 51; Melchert 2024: 12), in which no Hurrian influence is expected. Finally, *tarmani* 'source' appears as a loan in Hittite, too, as *tarmana-* 'source' (HEG T, D: 190 and Richter 2012: 446, both with refs.); accordingly, one cannot exclude that it is a Hittite denomination (which is supported by its *a*-stem). Moreover, this river is located in the eastern part of Kizzuwatna (RGTC 6/1: 553, 6/2: 211), and thus we cannot be certain that it does not originate outside Kizzuwatna, potentially in a Hurrian-speaking region (also note the problem of the 'tarmanna-sea' of disputed identification [Gulf of Iskenderun? Van Lake?], see the refs. in HEG T, D: 190 and Richter 2012: 446).

Besides, only two toponyms have been etymologised as Hurrian: Kizzuwatna and Kummanni. This immediately raises suspicion of whether they prove anything – especially because if we look at these etymologies more closely, we will see that they cannot be upheld.

2.4.1. Kizzuwatna

According to the general view, none of the etymologies proposed are 'befriedigend' (Kümmel 1976–1980: 627, referring to the Hurrian etymologies below), and the etymology of Kizzuwatna is 'uncertain' (Trameri 2024: 31), although we have several: partly Hurrian, fully Hurrian, fully Indo-European, and pre-Indo-European (Hatian?) ones.

The fully Hurrian etymology was proposed by Goetze 1940: 5 (and followed by Kammenhuber 1968: 96 n. 292 [cautiously]): Kizzuwatna, 'obviously' of Hurrian origin, would consist of three Hurrian elements, a word *kizzuli-* '?' (attested in Nuzi personal names), a suffix *-at-*, and the Hurrian plural 'article' *-na* (Goetze 1940: 5 n. 20). There are several problems with this etymology which inevitably lead to its rejection:

First, an etymology that at the end does not give a meaning at all is not a real solution. Second, as far as the alleged *kizzuli-* word is concerned, based on several Hurrian names, one can indeed reconstruct a root **kizz-* (Richter 2016: 167–170), but its meaning is completely unclear (Richter 2016: 442), which is not very conducive to a Hurrian etymology, especially since its morphology is more than dubious. Third, I could not find any Hurrian

suffix *-at-*; Goetze's evidence, a '*t*-suffix' in *Heba(t)* does not exist and the *t*-less form was in the meanwhile convincingly explained as Luwianised form with the regular loss of *-t* (Zehnder 2010: 82). Fourth, *-na-* is not a derivational suffix but an inflectional one (relator plural), and thus it does not make any sense here (not to mention its plural sense, which also requires explanation). In other words, this etymology must be excluded on morphological grounds.

The partly Hurrian solution was proposed by Neumann 1958: 112–114, who modified Goetze's etymology (rejected by Kammenhuber 1968: 96 n. 292 as 'eine ad-hoc-Deutung nach anklingendem hethitischem Sprachmaterial'): he kept the Hurrian plural 'article' *-na* but started from an Indo-European, mixed Hittite-Luwian stem meaning 'das (Land) diesseits des Wassers' either from Hittite '**kez-wetenaz*' (abl.) substantivised with the loss of the case ending (type *Interamna* < *inter amnes*) or with the 'short form' abl. '*witaz*' (which is, however, a different word, see e.g. Kloekhorst 2008: 1015–1016). Nevertheless, he explained the vocalism of the second member with a Luwian (!) reconstructed by-form, **wad(a)-* (accepted by Puhvel [HED K: 6, with the assumption of the loss of the case ending], Carruba 2000: 61 [modifying it with a similarly invented Luwian word for 'water', **watna-*], and García Trabazo 2004: 313–317, who alternatively proposed another etymology, cf. below).¹⁴

There are several problems with this etymology. First, although the meaning is typologically likely, it implies a very early Hittite knowledge at least of the Northern Levantine seacoast (das Land jenseits des Wassers), which is not improbable but still noteworthy. Second, explaining the vocalism with an invented Luwian word is fully *ad hoc*. Third, the explanation that the first part is Hittite and the second is Luwian was rightly rejected by Hoffner 2000: 70, who, as far as it is understandable from his text, opted for full Luwian phonetics, which would solve this problem (but not the others). Fourth, as we saw above, *°na* cannot be explained with the Hurrian suffix. In other words, this etymology also must be excluded on formal grounds.

Since this is not the place to discuss the etymology of Kizzuwatna, I mention only briefly that the Indo-European proposals (by E. Laroche,¹⁵ J.V. García Trabazo,¹⁶ R. Lebrun,¹⁷

¹⁴ I subsume Casabonne's etymology (**kez-watna* 'the waters from this part/side', 2009: 185 n. 13 with ref. to M.-C. Trémouille) as a variant of this idea.

¹⁵ Kizzuwatna would mean 'Low Land' from Luwian *kez* 'low' and **watna* 'land' (Laroche 1979: 67; booked even in Kloekhorst 2008: 933 with question mark), but this was considered 'problematic' by Melchert 1994: 317 (also according to García Trabazo 2004: 314 n. 17 it is 'wenig wahrscheinlich'), who rightly added two question marks to **kiz-* 'low', since such a Luwian word is not attested yet (and there is no etymological hint that it ever existed), and thus this etymology cannot be upheld. Laroche's etymology was rejected also by Starke 1990: 468 n. 1705, partly on correct grounds (there is no evidence for Luwian **watna-* 'land') and partly on forms he invented himself (Hittite '[Gezzuḫadna-]' and Hier.-Luw. '[Kazzuḫadna-]'). Note that the Luwian word for 'land, country' seems to be *wattaniya-* (Melchert 2024: 287).

¹⁶ Kizzuwatna would mean 'steiniges Gewässer' and it would be a fully Luwian phrase, for its first part see Carian *gissa* 'stone' (García Trabazo 2004: 315), in which, however, *°watna* remains irregular; thus, it cannot be upheld.

¹⁷ Kizzuwatna would be **ked-suwanda* '(les lieux) pleins d'oliviers' (Lebrun 2007: 242, cautiously: 'not impossible'); however, *-watna* remains irregular also here, and there is no synchronic or diachronic evidence for **ked-* as 'olive'.

I. Yakubovich,¹⁸ and M. Weeden and A. Trameri¹⁹) also do not fit, and thus the Hurrian etymologies cannot be excluded on this ground. Be that as it may, we saw that they are untenable independently from the validity of the Indo-European etymologies. Furthermore, we shall not forget that this toponym is known in other forms as well (*Ká-zu(wa)-na* in the Hieroglyphic Luwian FIRAKTIN inscription; *Kazzuwatana* in Hurrian, DAAM 1.11 Vo. 44', 46'; and *Kuzuatna* in Ugaritic Akkadian, RS 94.2486, 2), and a good etymology should provide answers for these forms, too. Based on the oscillating vocalism of the first syllable and the sequence °*ina* that allegedly recurs only in Kizzuwatnean toponyms, Shelestin 2023: 351 even suggested pre-Indo-European origin (and tried to connect it with Hattian). This is a promising idea, but it certainly requires more evidence.

We can therefore conclude that we do not know the etymology of Kizzuwatna.

2.4.2. Kummanni

According to the old hypothesis, Kummanni consists of a Luwian stem, *kumma-* 'sacred' with the Hurrian 'article' *-nni*.²⁰ It is interesting to note that if this etymology is correct, it argues against Yakubovich's theory of a Hurrian substrate in Luwian, since it implies an earlier Luwian population with a Hurrian superstrate (similarly as Latin [Castra] Regina and Augusta [Vindelic(or)um] became German Regensburg and Augsburg).

However, this etymology is probably not correct: Kummanni is very well attested in our Hittite texts, almost always in this quasi-stem form, but we find it in ablative in KUB 20.52 i 10' as *kum-ma-na-z(a-an)* (NS). This immediately shows that it is not a real *i*-stem as the etymology assumes since it would be **kummani(ya)z*; thus, formally speaking we are dealing with an *i*-mutating stem. This implies almost automatically a Luwian word and in fact, one can easily maintain the etymology based on Luwian *kumma-* with *i*-mutating Luwian suffixes (*-annali-* 'diminutive or possessive adjective suffix' and *-annali-* 'having something', Melchert 2003: 196). Still, this is only 'almost automatically', because if someone insists on a Hurrian etymology, there are two theoretical possibilities: First, in New Hittite, due to the influx of *i*-mutating Luwian words, *a*-stems may have been created

¹⁸ According to Yakubovich 2010: 237, 274 with n. 80, a Hittite **kez-udne* was Luwianised as **kez-watni* 'a country on this side (of the mountains)' with Luwian **wadni-* 'land'. If *wattaniya-* is the Luwian word for 'land, country' (see n. 14 above), then this explanation can be excluded. Moreover, the partial Luwianisation instead of a full one is only *petitio principii*.

¹⁹ Following an idea of M. Weeden, Trameri suggested 'the land of Kizzu(wa)', i.e. with Kizzu(wa) as a personal name. However, the connection with Luwian *wattaniya-* 'land' (cf. above) remains formally problematic (note especially the geminate vs. singleton dental and the unexplained lack of the *-iya*-suffix) and, more importantly, it does not explain the Luwian and Hurrian names of Kizzuwatna, see the main text.

²⁰ Lebrun 1979: 131 (Hittite or Luwian 'dont la graphie hourrite', i.e. 'la (ville) sainte'), 2007: 242 (on the suffix see already Goetze 1940: 5 with n. 21, who listed a series of morphologically and etymologically opaque toponyms starting with *Kumm*° from Hurrian milieu and claimed that Kummanni is 'obviously' of Hurrian origin, followed by Forlanini 2013: 79 [cautiously, adding Goetze's toponyms] and de Martino 2016: 33 n. 14 [also cautiously]) and Casabonne 2009: 182 ('In Anatolian Hurrian-Luwian language [sic] *Kummeli*-[sic] means 'holy)'). Forlanini 2013: 79 n. 56 rejected Casabonne's (2009) etymology from Hitt. *kammara-* as 'moins probable', but Casabonne did not claim such.

to original *i*-stems, although this is not typical for Hurrian loans that are real *i*-stems. Second, Kummanni might be a Luwian loan, which turned the Hurrian *i*-stem into an *i*-mutating stem, although Hurrian loans typically get the *-it*-suffix in Luwian (see above).²¹

In other words, nothing requires a Hurrian etymology for Kummanni; the proposed Hurrian etymology is not impossible, but it requires a very rare special pleading, and is thus inferior to a simple Luwian solution.

To summarise, there is no certain evidence for Hurrian toponyms in Kizzuwatna as of today.

2.5. *The Combination of Arguments*

As a final possibility, one could argue that all these arguments are indeed problematic, but taken together they still prove the presence of a Hurrian population group. Thus, to formulate in another way, one has to ask: what is the linguistic evidence for the presence of a Hurrian population group? It consists of a single personal name that may not belong to Kizzuwatna at all, ritual termini, and culture words (furniture, vessel, and cross-culturally important plants), all of them proportionally very few. Such distribution of linguistic features is cross-linguistically well known; it typically points to cultural influence (including religious influence), such as the early Latin loans in the West Germanic dialects upon their encounter with the Roman Empire and early Christianity, e.g. ritual termini (*abbot/Abt* – *abbas*; *altar/Altar* – *altare*; *mass/Messe* – *missa*; *minster/Münster* – *monasterium*; *pope/Papst* – *papa*; *temple/Tempel* – *templum*), furniture/vessel (*dish* (originally ‘table’, too)/*Tisch* – *discus*), and plants (*mint/Minze* – *menta* and *pepper/Pfeffer* – *piper*).

3. CONCLUSIONS

We can conclude that the traditional view of the presence of a substantial Hurrian speaking population in Kizzuwatna was practically based on two personal names, only one of which can be identified as Hurrian and may not be connected to Kizzuwatna. The presence of Hurrian toponyms is an even older theory; however, it lacks any linguistic base. More recently, scholars have tried to adduce Hurrian structural influences on Kizzuwatna Luwian and the Hurrian loanwords in Kizzuwatna Luwian to demonstrate the presence of a Hurrian-speaking population in Kizzuwatna; nevertheless, these Hurrian structural influences do not exist, and all the loanwords belong to very specific categories – ritual terms and *Wanderwörter* that do not prove the presence of such a population. Therefore, the linguistic data do not support the existence of a Hurrian speaking population group in Kizzuwatna at all; on the contrary, they point to a cross-linguistically well-known and historically perfectly likely situation, i.e. exclusively cultural influences.

²¹ Also Shelestin 2023: 351 rejects the traditional Hurrian etymology, but his reasons are not conclusive. His Hurrian etymology (*kum=a=nni* ‘the constructed one’, elaborating a cautious root etymology of Wilhelm 1994: 319 [but ‘falls hier nicht eine anatolische Herkunft eher in Frage kommt’]) has the same formal problem as the traditional one and is based on a putative root only (on which see the analysis of Wilhelm 1994).

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WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT 'KIZZUWATNAEAN' RELIGION?

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Abstract

Prior to the incorporation of Kizzuwatna into the political dominion of the Hittites, we have almost no sources on the religious situation there. We can therefore ask: what can we know and reconstruct about the religious situation in Kizzuwatna before the cultural and political interaction with the Hittites? Hittite texts indicate that in pre-Hittite Kizzuwatna local (Storm)gods and the goddesses Lelluri and Išhara, both of northern Syrian origin, were worshipped. When the Hittites established their influence in Kizzuwatna, the Hurrian influence had already changed the religious situation there. Thus, Hurrian traditions were brought to Hattuša.

More than eight decades ago, Albrecht Goetze (1940: 5f.) wrote: “The deities worshiped in Kizzuwatna are Hurrian.” From today’s point of view, this opinion is only partially accurate, as we not only better understand the Hurrian elements, but have also learnt since 1940 that elements from North Syrian and Luwian areas also contributed to the development of the religious situation in Kizzuwatna (cf. for a short overview Hutter 2021: 153–155). But when we ask what the early ‘autochthonous’ religious traditions in Kizzuwatna were, we are faced with a serious problem, namely the lack of written sources for the (late) Middle Bronze Age or the situation around the middle of the second millennium. Written sources on religion in Kizzuwatna come almost exclusively from the Hittite archives of the second half of the second millennium, and they mostly represent the point of view of the Hittite religious administration in relation to Kizzuwatna. So we can only attempt to reconstruct from these Hittite sources what aspects of Kizzuwatnaean religion might have existed before this area came under Hittite political and administrative control. It is not totally impossible to look for information in Kizzuwatna about the religion that was practiced there before Kizzuwatna became part of a stable Hittite influence. But of course we must never forget what R. Strauß (2005: 232) wrote:

In welcher Form die Rituale in Kizzuwatna praktiziert, tradiert und schriftlich fixiert worden waren, lässt sich kaum abschätzen, da (Ritual-)Texte aus Kizzuwatna selbst nicht überliefert sind.

For the Hittite scribes, these texts and tablets were still available, and there are several cases where the Hittite scribes mention “ancient (*annalla/i-*) tables” as a reference or source of their own texts, in addition to other instances where they were inspired by such older tablets when they composed their own texts (Strauß 2005: 229–231; Taracha 2009: 138

fn. 821 for CTH 479.3). It is also known that Queen Puduḫeba gave the order to search for ancient tablets of the *ḫišuwa* festival from Kizzuwatna. Such references in the Hittite scribal administration may help us to reconstruct the religious practices and the local cults and deities of Kizzuwatna around the middle of the second millennium.

1. WHAT CAN GOD LISTS TELL US?

In many cases we can glean information from Hittite treaties about the gods of the Hittite ‘state pantheon’ and the gods of the country with which the treaty was made. However, the treaties between Hittite kings and Kizzuwatna are poorly preserved. As a result, there is little information about the gods of Kizzuwatna. In the treaty between Arnuwanda I and the people of Išmerika (CTH 133; Beckman 1999: 14; cf. Christiansen 2012: 197f.) we read in KUB 26.21 obv. 1–11:

Thus says Arnuwanda: ... [I have] now [summoned] the Thousand [Gods to assembly for this oath, and I have called them to witness. They shall be] witnesses: The Sun-god, the Storm-god, the Sun-goddess of [Ari]nna, ...], the Storm-god [of ...], the War-god [...], the Storm-god of Aleppo, [...] Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa, [...] Teššub of Aleppo, Ḫebat [of Aleppo ...], the gods of heaven and earth, [...].

Even if we place the people of Išmerika in a broader ‘southern’, perhaps Kizzuwatnaean context, the inclusion of Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa is an argument that this is a (mixed) Hittite pantheon. This is also indicated by the mention of both the Stormgod of Aleppo and Teššub of Aleppo, which in my opinion is evidence that this god list has been influenced by native material from Aleppo and by Hurrian material from Aleppo, among other traditions.

Another list of divine witnesses, which A. Trameri (2020: 344) characterises as the only god list among the treaties with Kizzuwatna, comes from one of the Akkadian versions of the Šunaššura treaty (KBo 28.110+; Wilhelm 2014; cf. Devecchi 2015: 78):

- 79". [x x x x a]-wa-at tup-pí an-ni-im e-et-ti-iq
 80". [DUTU URU A-ri-i]n-na DIM URU Ḫa-at-ti ^rD LAMMA¹ URU Ḫa-at-ti
 81". [DIM URU Ḫa-la]-ab ^DḪé-bat ^DZUEN ^Dr IŠTAR¹ ^DZA-BA₄-BA₄
 82". [x x x]x DINGIR^{MEŠ} ša KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti ù DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 83". [ša KUR URU K]i-iz-zu-wa-at-ni
 84". NUMUN-šu šum-šu li-ḫal-li-qú

[Whoever] transgresses the words of this tablet, (to him) shall [the Sun-goddess of Ari]nna, the Storm-god of Ḫatti, the tutelary deity of Ḫatti, [the Storm-god of Aleppo, Ḫebat, the Moon-god, Ištar, the War-god, [...] the gods of the land of Ḫatti and the gods of the land of Kizzuwatna, heaven and earth, [...], mountains and rivers destroy his seed (and) his name!

In my opinion the gods of Kizzuwatna are only mentioned and invoked in general in this list, while the directly named gods and goddesses are only the deities of Ḫatti. Trameri also noted that e.g. Šarruma is missing; therefore it is also my opinion that the other gods (written by logograms) are not necessarily ‘Kizzuwatnaean’ gods, but should be taken as representing Tudḫaliya’s II “Hittite” pantheon. Some of the gods already have a Hurrian

background. This can be explained by the beginning of the Hurrian influence (via Kizzuwatna) in the Hittite capital (or court), perhaps initiated by Tudḫaliya’s wife Nikkalmati.

So let us look for other god lists that enumerate a Kizzuwatnaean pantheon. According to I. Singer (1996: 167) the “gods of Kizzuwatna ... would seem to be represented in KUB 57.87 iii 8’–11’): Šarruma, [...], Storm-god of Manuziya, Allani, NIN.GAL, Storm-god/Teššub and Hebat.” Muwatalli’s prayer KUB 6.45 i 62–65 can also be quoted (Singer 1996: 34):

“[Storm-god of] Kummani, Hebat of Kummani, Storm-god of the *šīnapši*, Hebat of the *šīnapši*, Storm-god of Mount Manuziya, NIN.GAL, Pišanuḫi, Mount Gallištapa, male gods, female gods, mountains (and) rivers of Kummani and of the land of Kummani.”

Muwatalli’s prayer KBo 11.1 obv. 1–6 is another example (Singer 2002a: 82):

“We have invoked the Storm-god, lord of heaven and earth, ... We have invoked Hebat ... Šarruma ... gods of the lands, mountains, rivers Huzzi and Hutanni.”

A further god list can be found in a fragmentary treaty with Kizzuwatna (Devecchi 2015: 91f.): KBo 12.31 mentions

“all the male and female gods of Kummani, Nara, Na[p]šara, Munki, Tuḫuši, Ammunki, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil, mountains, rivers, springs and the great sea.”

Another source for Kizzuwatnaean god lists are the so-called *kaluti* lists in some cults for Teššub and/or Hebat. I. Wegner has compiled the offering lists for Teššub, Hebat and other deities, showing that one can reconstruct two different sets of *kaluti* lists – namely standard lists and special lists (Wegner 2002: 53–65; cf. Trameri 2020: 348f.; Taracha 2009: 118f.). The difference between these two sets of lists is that the standard lists focus only on Teššub and Hebat and their circle of gods, while the special lists also mention special local gods in addition to the deities included in the standard lists (Wegner 2002: 56). The special lists are documentations of the gods of local festivals in which local gods not included in the Hittite state cult are also worshipped. Most of the gods in these lists are of Hurrian (or North Syrian or Mesopotamian) origin, and gods from Central Anatolia are missing. Wegner (2002: 56–63) reconstructed such special lists not only for the pantheon of the Stormgod of Manuzi, which included local gods of Kizzuwatna, but also for the Stormgod of Šapinuwa, for Tiyabenti, as well as a special list for Hebat or NIN.GAL. Another special list of deities can be found in the ritual for NIN.GAL, performed by a queen and by princes (Wegner 2002: 62; now recorded as CTH 494). Singer (2002b: 310) was able to identify this unnamed queen with Ašmunikkal. The deities mentioned in this list (Zedu, Širinna, Alwil, Gadena, Maḫittena) are not known from other texts, so it is difficult to say anything in detail about them.

Another Kizzuwatna ritual, performed when a person wished to settle down in a (previously) uninhabited place or town (CTH 491.1) enumerates the many deities who have taken their seats. The list is headed by the Stormgod and Hebat, followed by Šarruma sitting on the Stormgod’s knees and Mezzulla on Hebat’s knees. Many gods and goddesses (as well as divine symbols or aspects) are then mentioned, sitting one behind the other.

The ritual also mentions sheep, birds and various kinds of bread to be offered to these deities. Many of these deities are – to my knowledge – not very well documented in other texts.

From this overview of god lists we can draw our first conclusion: It is obvious that since the Early Empire period, gods of Hurrian (and North Syrian) background came to Ḫattuša – in many cases via Kizzuwatna. Some deities are attested only once (cf. e.g. CTH 494 or 491.1), while other more ‘popular’ and ‘international’ Hurrian gods, such as Teššub and Ḫebat and their circles, are well documented in texts of the royal cult in Ḫattuša. This situation describes well the composite form of ‘Kizzuwatnaean traditions’ in the period of the Hittite Empire. But perhaps we can go one step further: If we try to ‘deconstruct’ these composite religious traditions of Kizzuwatna, we can *reconstruct* an ‘earlier’ stratum of religious traditions in Kizzuwatna – before these traditions were imported into Ḫattuša and/or administered by Hittite scribes. Of course, such a reconstruction must remain tentative, since all the sources which are available for such a reconstruction were handed down through the Hittite administration.

2. MANUZI AND HIS CONSORT LELLURI

With reference to the ‘special’ lists mentioned above, I will start with the *kaluti* list for the Stormgod of Manuzi, which may provide some evidence regarding the centre of an ‘early Kizzuwatnaean pantheon’. The list (Wegner 2002: 57f.) of the Stormgod of Manuzi mentions – among others – the following gods: the Stormgod *dubriša*, with an epithet that may not be Hurrian (Richter 2012: 475), Ḫebat *ḫašulatbi* (*ḫaš- “to be strong”, Richter 2012: 138) and also Abade Lelluri, the Torch of Manuzi (Wegner 2002: 58). In another list, perhaps from the *ḫišuwa* festival (Wegner 2002: 60f.), one finds again the local Stormgod of Manuzi, Abade Lelluri, the Torch of Manuzi, *abiri ḫišuwa*, the gods of Manuzi and Ḫuzzi of the Stormgod. Such lists leave no doubt that the Stormgod of Manuzi, together with his consort Lelluri, is one of the most important, if not the most important local god of Kizzuwatna.

Muwatalli’s prayer to the assembly of gods mentions this local Stormgod among the gods of Kummani, but only in a secondary position after Teššub and Ḫebat of Kummani and Teššub and Ḫebat of the *šinapši*. The god is also mentioned in the fragment of a prayer (KUB 9.98), also attributed to Muwatalli. An important royal text referring to the local Stormgod is Muršili’s Speech Loss (aphasy), in which the king orders an oracle inquiry to find out the reason for the mischief which affected the king (CTH 486; cf. Hutter 2021: 264f.). The king has to present an ox as a substitute to the temple of the Stormgod of Manuzi in the city of Kummani. At a monthly festival for Teššub and Ḫebat (CTH 706.I.9) a silver rhyton is set up for the god, and then other rhyta for Išḫara, Allani, Nubadig of Bibithi and Nubadig of Zalmatḫi (Trémouille 1996: 87). Little information can be gleaned from KUB 60.34,5 (CTH 706), where the god is mentioned among other gods, receiving a sheep. One of the vows of Queen Puduḫeba is also worth mentioning: The queen makes a vow for the life of her husband Ḫattušili, promising to present several persons as servants to the goddess Allani (KUB 15.11 ii 12–26; de Roos 2007: 109f., 112f.). The interesting information from this text is that Allani does not have her own temple, but ‘only’ a shrine

in the temple of the Stormgod (ii 12). Whether this temple of the Stormgod is located in Kummani (as the one mentioned in the *bišuwā* festival) or perhaps in Šuhuriya (ii 26) in the Kaškaean region must remain open.

Some further information can be gleaned from Muwalanni’s ritual for the Stormgod of Manuzi (CTH 703). The text begins with the following lines (KBo 11.2 i 1–3; Wegner 2002: 205; Lebrun 1996: 49):

Thus says Muwalanni, the servant of the Storm-god of Manuzi and the ‘Lady’, When the king sacrifices a burnt offering to the Storm-god of Manuzi, he does as follows.

Only parts of days one, two, five and six are preserved. From a few lines relating to the second day (KBo 11.2 ii 1–5; Wegner 2002: 206; Lebrun 1996: 41) we learn that one ox, one sheep, one thick bread [and something else] are offered to Abade Lelluri, the Torch of Manuzi, and perhaps to the gods of Manuzi. In the next paragraph one ox and one sheep are offered for the purification of [Abade Lelluri], the Torch of Manuzi. During the fifth day – perhaps after some burnt offerings (KBo 11.3) – the king performs a drinking ceremony for the male gods of the circle of the Stormgod of Manuzi and afterwards for the female gods of the circle of Ḫebat-Mušni (KBo 11.5; Wegner 2002: 209–211; Lebrun 1996: 43–46). The colophon of the sixth day mentions that the ritual was performed when the king came to the town of Ušša. – More information about the Kizzuwatnaean religion is included in this ritual than in the other texts mentioned above. It is not an original ‘Kizzuwatnaean’ text, since we can assume that Muwalanni had composed the text in the 13th century, perhaps at the request of Puduḫeba, as Lebrun (1996: 62) thinks. As for the characterisation of the Stormgod of Manuzi, one can deduce from this ritual that he – as a ‘southern’ god – had found his way into the royal cult in Ḫattuša, most probably being identified with Tešsub as can be deduced from the *kaluti* lists which start on the male side with the Stormgod of Manuzi, but on the female side with Ḫebat-Mušni. But I think there is another important indication that Muwalanni’s ritual re-works an older ritual for the Stormgod. Muwalanni, the ‘author’, is introduced as the servant of the Stormgod of Manuzi and the ‘Lady’ (GAŠAN in KBo 11.2 i 2); but the duplicate text KBo 11.4 i 2 introduces him as a servant of the Stormgod and a goddess written with the logogram *IŠTAR*. This logogram should not be read as Šaušga, who is not the divine consort of Tešsub in Kizzuwatna or in the texts of the Hurrian milieu of Ḫattuša; such an interpretation would also contradict the female *kaluti* list starting with Ḫebat. Therefore, I suggest that behind both of the logograms GAŠAN and *IŠTAR* one has to see the original consort of the Stormgod of Manuzi. While GAŠAN can refer to several goddesses, who are addressed as GAŠAN-YA “my Lady”, the logogram *IŠTAR* also refers not only to Šaušga, but also to other goddesses, as Haas (1994: 349; cf. also Hutter 2021: 136 with further literature) has shown. In order to identify the name of the Stormgod’s consort hidden by the logographic writing, I suggest that the most suitable candidate for this is Lelluri, who may have some characteristics that can be compared with other female deities of an “Ištar-type”. This cannot be proven because of the fragmentary state of the transmission of the ritual, since we cannot say which deities were mentioned at the end of the first day. Therefore, it may be pure coincidence that only Abati Lelluri, the Torch of Manuzi is mentioned there twice (KBo 11.2 ii 1–5), once as the recipient of sacrificial

animals, and once these animals are offered for the purification of the deity. But I would suggest that the first day ends with these offerings to Lelluri, the original consort of the Stormgod of Manuzi. As the priest of these two deities, Muwalanni, composed an ‘updated’ version of the older local ritual for the Stormgod, which had to take into account the important role of the main Hurrian gods in the royal cult in the Hittite capital, as can be seen from the *kaluti* lists, where on the female side, Abade Lelluri, the Torch of Manuzi, has lost her position, being mentioned only after the main (Hurrian) goddesses of Ḫebat’s standard circle.

As a preliminary result, we can say that the importance of the Stormgod of Manuzi declined over time in the Hittite Empire. He is still mentioned in the texts with a royal focus, but only as one Stormgod among many others, and he is also identified with Teššub. But Muwalanni’s new ritual for this Stormgod does not completely overshadow his original importance, and perhaps even his first rank within Kizzuwatnaean religion.

The *hišuwu* festival (Hutter 2021: 169f., 250) provides even more information about this god. The festival, which was re-established in Ḫattuša in the 13th century on the order of Puduḫeba, focuses on the Stormgod of Manuzi (and his consort Lelluri). The festival begins – after preparatory rites – in the temple of the god and at the end of the first day the Stormgod is washed and anointed; the same act is then performed on Išhara. The three following deities (Allani, and the two Nubadig of Bibita and Zalmana) are only treated together (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 27 i 1–14). On the next (= second) day some purification rites are performed in the ‘house of the grandfather’, and a notable action concerns the ‘cup of Lelluri’ (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 27 i 38f.; cf. 114 i 12–20). The main ritualists in the following actions are the priest of the Stormgod of Manuzi and the king, using torches and cedar wood to purify the king and the gods. Many of these actions are combined with Hurrian recitations, apparently invoking the goddess Lelluri Abade, the Torch of Manuzi: Such an invocation of the goddess seems to refer to the thin breads that have been offered, and thus these thin bread loaves will bring well-being (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 34 iii 35f: *anuiš haršais giluš tea*). A few lines later, the priest takes a small piece of such a loaf, dips it into oil, and throws it into the incense burner on the hearth, while combining his action with the wish that this small morsel may bring well-being or satisfaction from or for Lelluri (iii 41–44: *anueš anahueš giluš^dLellureнна^dAbatenna^dTiareнна manuzunna*). Similar good wishes often accompany the ritual actions of the day. It is also noteworthy that several times offerings are placed on the ‘table of Lelluri’ (cf. e.g. Wegner–Salvini 1991: 111 i 12–29; 151 v 14–16, 19f.). Later in the day, the king leaves the temple of the Stormgod and then a drinking ceremony begins with the Stormgod in the first position. Then the queen (or a priest, when the queen is not available) eats. A morsel of each prepared bread is placed in front of the goddess, followed by a drinking rite, starting with Lelluri, and after her Ḫebat-Mušni and the deities of her circle (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 151 vi 6ff., 17ff.). At the end of this part of the festival, the king pours wine before the Stormgod, and then either the queen or the priest libates wine in front of Lelluri (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 155 vi 39–45). Towards the end of the second day, the goddess Maliya is washed and anointed.

To sum up, the drinking rites for the Stormgod (Wegner–Salvini 1991: 151 v 30ff.) and for Lelluri (154 vi 17ff.) have exactly the same structure. There is no doubt that this

day clearly focuses on this divine couple, the Stormgod of Manuzi and Lelluri (of Manuzi), even if other deities are also mentioned as recipients of offerings.

The third day (5th tablet) concentrates on ceremonies in the temples of the Stormgod, Išhara, Allani, Nubadig of Bibita and Nubadig of Zalmana, and Maliya. On this day, sacrifices are made to the eagle Ešue in the temple of the Stormgod. Unlike the previous days, Lelluri is missing on this day. At the beginning of the 7th tablet (Groddek 2004) the Stormgod and Lelluri, the pure goddess (KBo 9.133 i 8), are again mentioned side by side. Both are taken down from their seats and they are arranged together with some other (minor) deities (Kušurni, Šurinni). It is not clear which day of the festival is referred to at the beginning of the tablet (i 4). The minor deities accompanying the divine couple are mentioned in a longer list on the 8th tablet (KUB 40.102 ii 5–15; Haas 1994: 863; cf. the 3rd tablet; Wegner–Salvini 1991: 145f. i 24, 29, 32, ii 3f.): A golden and a silver cup are filled for the Stormgod, then a silver cup is filled for Lelluri, Ellantarpigga, Šurzi *šukri*, Kušurni, Šurinni, Pappi/Mount Manuzi and Daipahini; a cup bronze is filled for *zalmi* NIN.É.GAL. The names of these gods (or divine symbols) seem to be closely associated with the Stormgod and his consort, rather than with ‘major’ Hurrian gods.

Continuing with the counting of the days, the fifth day ends with offerings to mountains and rivers (10th tablet, cf. also 6th tablet: Groddek 2010: 392; Haas 1994: 862). On the morning of the sixth day (Groddek 2010: 377 iv 12ff.) the king goes (again) into the temple of the Stormgod and consecrates a sheep for the Stormgod of Aleppo; afterwards the sheep is driven to the temple of this Stormgod and its liver is offered there. In a fragmentary context – after libations of *walhi* and wine for the Stormgod – the cups of Lelluri, Tarla-..., Šurzi *šukri*, Kušurni, Šurinni, and Pappi/Mount Manuzi are again filled (Groddek 2010: 378 v 17ff.; cf. 388). After some further offering rites, a *purapši* priest proclaims the king’s well-being, his life, his health, his strong weapon and the gods’ favour for him (Groddek 2010: 378 v 40ff.; cf. Haas 1994: 867f.).

The 12th tablet mentions the elders of several Kizzuwatnaean towns – Kummani, Zunnahara, Adaniya, Tarša, Ellipra – who bring their offerings into the temple of the Stormgod to various deities of the general Hurrian or ‘southern’ background: the Stormgod of Aleppo, Aštabi, Atammira/Wattamira, Nubadig Bibita and Nubadig Zalmana, Ḫebat, Ea and Damkina, and also Abade Lelluri (Groddek 2011: 136–138).

At the beginning of the 13th tablet, an eagle – named Eribuški – is taken away from the shoulder of the Stormgod of Manuzi (KBo 15.37 i 20ff.; Kompalla 2011: 20, 30f.). The eagle is washed and anointed and then various types of bread are placed on a table in front of him. During a long drinking ceremony performed by the king (ii 1ff.) with ‘standard’ Hurrian deities, Abade Lelluri is mentioned again, but not in a prominent position, comparable to the 12th tablet. This ceremony marks the end of the seventh day (ii 46). On the eighth day, Ḫilašši of the Stormgod of Manuzi is brought to the house of the ‘priest-king’ (iii 8: ^USANGA.LUGAL). We have no further information about the ‘priest-king’ or his house, as both institutions are only mentioned here (Kompalla 2011: 43). After several sacrifices of the king to Ḫilašši, the king drinks to Ḫilašši, Ḫebat-Mušni, Abade Lelluri and other Hurrian deities. Lelluri’s rank in this drinking rite is more prominent than in the two previous occasions of god-drinking that mention Ḫebat in the first position. Throughout the day, Ḫilašši of the Stormgod of Manuzi is celebrated in the house

of the ‘priest-king’. On the ninth day 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 is taken back to the temple of the Stormgod (v 58-vi 2), marking the end of the *hišuwā* festival.

I have already mentioned Lelluri several times as the Stormgod’s consort. Some additional remarks are necessary. In a *hišuwā* fragment (KUB 45.75 iii 75) her temple is mentioned, but the broken context does not provide any further information. Another fragment of the festival mentions her together with the Stormgod of Manuzi, and she is also addressed in Muwalanni’s ritual. In Muršili’s Aphasy (CTH 486) her name is written as the variant Elluri. Important information about her can be found in the Annals of 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 I from the Old Hittite period: The king refers to his campaign in his fifth year against 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 and reports as follows (Beckman 2006: 221; cf. Wilhelm 2008: 191):

[I took (?) much] silver and gold. Furthermore, [I took] its deities: the storm-god, Lord of (Mt.) Amarak, the storm-god, Lord of Aleppo, Allatum, (Mt.) Adalur, Lelluri, 2 oxen of gold, 13 (!) statues of silver and gold, 2 model shrines, and a rear wall. And I plated it with silver and gold; and I plated the door with silver and gold. ... these I carried off from 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

In conclusion, the following can be said about the Stormgod of Manuzi and his consort Lelluri: They are obviously seen as a couple (Popko 1995: 101), most likely heading the local pantheon in Kummani, the main city (and religious centre) of Kizzuwatna. As we have almost no ‘original’ sources on Kizzuwatnaean religion from the local perspective of Kizzuwatna (and certainly not from the Hittite administrative point of view), it is difficult to say when the Stormgod and Lelluri took this leading position. The mountain Manuzi has never played an important historical role, regardless of his connection with ‘his’ Stormgod (Haas 1994: 849). And as the Annals of 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 mentioned above show, Lelluri was not the Stormgod’s consort from the beginning, since she belonged to the pantheon of 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺, perhaps as the consort of Mount Adalur (cf. Haas 1994: 410): Most probably Lelluri’s association with a mountain(-god) was the reason why she was (later) associated with the Stormgod of (the mountain) Manuzi, forming a ‘new’ divine couple. But we do not know when this happened or what historical circumstances were that led to this development.

3. THE INSTALLATION AND/OR RESTORATION OF CULTS

As we have already seen, the eighth day of the *hišuwā* festival mentions the house of the ‘priest-king’. This ‘house’ might have been either a temple or some other palatial building. This brief reference in the festival probably indicates an ancient – pre-Hittite – Kizzuwatnaean religious tradition, in which the main priest also functioned as king or political leader. In the ‘updated’ version of the festival from the 13th century, we see only a faint reminder of this ancient institution. However, there are some other texts, which refer to religious institutions run or cared for by the Hittite king in priestly manner, as a process of the Hittite (cult) administration in Kizzuwatna, restoring the older cults: Arnuwanda I appointed prince Kantuzili as priest for Tešsub and 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 in Kizzuwatna and later Šuppiluliuma I appointed the prince Telipunu there as priest. Both princes and priests were thus “enabled ... to fulfil the religious duties of the king of Kizzuwatna, whose office

was apparently dissolved late in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II" (Gilan 2019: 181). Of course, this Hittite administration of the religious situation in Kizzuwatna differs from the old tradition of the 'priest-king' in Kizzuwatna, but the installation of an important Hittite prince as priest and ruler, which later became even more evident when Telipinu was transferred to Aleppo as priest and sub-king, still seemed to reflect this local Kizzuwatnaean religious tradition, adopted but modified by the Hittites. The way in which the Kizzuwatnaean king was involved in religious duties in ancient times can be seen at least on two occasions.

Pilliya's ritual (CTH 475) is a 13-day long ceremony for the Stormgod of Kizzuwatna/Kummani, identified by the Hittite scribes as Tešsub. G. Beckman (2013: 114) gives a brief description of the ritual action day by day, which began on the first day with the drawing of purifying water from seven springs of the city of Lawazantiya, to which offerings were made in exchange for the purifying water. The next day, the Stormgod's image is bathed with the water from the springs, and a ceremony is held on Mount Kalzatapa. These and other ritual actions continue over the following days, including the incineration of birds, food offerings, burnt offerings and offerings in(to) the ritual pit. On the twelfth and the thirteenth days offerings are made to the Stormgod and his entourage, as well as to his emblems. On the last day an ox is sacrificed for the Stormgod and all the gods. It is not entirely clear why this ritual was originally performed. The reason could have been the transfer of the statue of the Stormgod to a new location or the installation of a (new) statue in the temple (cf. also Trameri 2020: 420f.). Originally this ritual was associated with the Kizzuwatnaean king, but – as the copies from the 13th century show – it was still held in high esteem in Ḫattuša. It can be assumed that the long-term performance of the ritual in Ḫattuša may still be a slight reference to the former political and religious function of the ancient Kizzuwatnaean 'priest-king'. Pilliya was never called a 'priest-king', and the Hittite king, who was later responsible for performing the ritual at Ḫattuša, was not called a 'priest-king' either. But the long-term royal use and memory of Pilliya's ritual for the installation of the Stormgod may indicate that religion in pre-Hittite Kizzuwatna was quite different from Hittite religion. Two catalogue texts (KBo 31.25+ i 12'f.; KUB 30.63 iii 1–5; cf. Dardano 2006: 233–238, 245) should also be mentioned, both of which refer to the king and his activities to install the cult of the Stormgod of Kummani (and Ḫebat).

Another 'installation text' is KUB 40.2 which refers to the pre-Hittite Kizzuwatnaean King Talzu, who may also be mentioned in the Hurrian text Kp 05/226 (DAAM 1.11), as Eva von Dassow has shown at this conference (cf. Rieken 2019: Tf. IV; Wilhelm apud Rieken 2009: 130). KUB 40.2 describes how Talzu established the cult for the gods Muwanu, Muwatalli and the fire-god in the temple of Išhara (KUB 40.2 obv.12–20; cf. Trameri 2020: 292 fn. 748). The reason for Talzu's cultic action was described at the beginning of the tablet (obv. 3–8): Due to the partly broken context, not all details are clear (cf. Goetze 1940: 67; Prechel 1996: 121; Trameri 2020: 293 fn. 751). The three gods mentioned had helped the Stormgod of Kummani, so King Talzu appropriately erected *huwasi* stones on Išhara's mountain in gratitude. There was also a temple of the goddess on the mountain, which can be assumed from the mention of the 'inner chamber' (É.ŠÀ) of the goddess. If this interpretation is correct, we can deduce the following scenario for the religious situation: Besides the Stormgod of Kummani as one of the most important

gods of the local pantheon, Iṣhara may have headed the female side of a local pantheon of Kizzuwatna. The goddess is mentioned in the divine list of the curse formula at the end of the treaty between Idrimi of Alalah and Palliya of Kizzuwatna (AIT 3; cf. also Prechel 1996: 68), after the Stormgod and the Sungod, which indicates her importance in Kizzuwatna. Muwanu and Muwatalli, who are certainly closely associated with the Stormgod (cf. ^D10 *muwanu* / ^D10 *muwatalli*), and the fire-god may also be associated with the Stormgod. With their installation in the temple of Iṣhara, these gods also gained a higher position in the local pantheon. The text further informs us that some land grants and villages (obv. 25ff.) were given to the goddess and that every three years the goddess, the *ENTU*-priestess and the SANGA received their tribute (rev. 60–79). Thus, Talzu's actions show his religious administration – and this was confirmed not only by this successor Šunaššura, but also in later times by the Hittite king, who edited this installation decree (cf. also Taggar-Cohen 2006: 205f.; Strauß 2005: 229; Haas 1994: 394). It is noteworthy that the Hittite king, whose identity is not known (cf. Trameri 2020: 297), referred to the regulations which were written down on Talzu's tablet (rev. 49ff.), and he also maintained these temples in exactly the same way as did Talzu and Šunaššura (rev. 59). Thus, we can say that Talzu's and Šunaššura's installation of some gods in Iṣhara's temple and their care for providing the material and economic basis for their cult can be compared to Pilliya's care for the Stormgod of Kummani. Or, if we generalise: This care was a central religious duty of the Kizzuwatnaean king.

Returning to the *hišuwu* festival, most of the texts of the festival refer to the new version compiled at Puduḫeba's request. However, some texts are in Middle Hittite script, showing that the festival was already known in Ḫattuša in earlier times; KUB 40.102+ v 4–7 (8th tablet) mentions a change in a detail of the ceremony:

They lay down one *zammuri*-bread of 1 *sutu*. This *zammuri*-bread was not (mentioned) on the tablet in earlier times (*annalla/i-*), and Muwatalli, the Great King, changed this later.

This short passage tells us not only that the festival was already held during Muwatalli's reign, but also about changes in the innovations of the ceremony – compared to the ritual performance in Kizzuwatna in honour of the Stormgod and his consort (cf. Dinçol 1989: 6). We can therefore assume that the Middle Hittite texts also contain some information about 'earlier' – possibly original – Kizzuwatnaean celebrations of the festival. Unfortunately, there are only a few Middle Hittite texts of the festival available: KUB 47.74 and KUB 45.56+ are examples of the 2nd tablet where ritual actions are accompanied by short recitations of Hurrian formulae for well-being (or similar). These formulae also occur in later versions of the same tablet, but it can be assumed that these spells were already recited in the 'original' version. The Middle Hittite fragment from Kayalıpınar (DAAM 1.16) is part of the 8th tablet and mentions a libation for the statue of Lelluri and afterwards a rite that was performed in front of the deity's statue. Probably KBo 15.52 + VBoT 116 is also a Middle Hittite text, belonging to the 10th tablet, describing the sacrifices for the mountains. At the end of the tablet, many minor deities are mentioned, which are also mentioned in the New Hittite version of the 8th tablet. I assume that these deities – the Stormgod (of Manuzi), Lelluri, Ellantarpigga, Šurzi *šukri*, Kušurni, Šurinni, Pappi/Mount Manuzi and Daipahini – were already celebrated in the original festival in Kizzuwatna. – Perhaps a

further indication that helps to distinguish between the original festival of Kizzuwatna and the updated version of Ḫattuša is the (stereotypical) mention of “Lelluri Abade, the Torch of Manuzi” in the Hurrian spells (but also in Muwalanni’s ritual, CTH 703), while in several (New Hittite) *kaluti* lists we only find Lelluri Abade (without the epithet “Torch of Manuzi”). The hierarchical position of Lelluri Abade in these later lists (headed by Ḫebat) is also low. This shows an innovation in the inclusion of ‘standard’ Hurrian/North Syrian *kaluti* lists in the ‘original’ *ḫišuwa* festival; as Lelluri was a central deity in the ‘original’ festival, she had to be included in the new lists – but not in a position of primacy, because the lists had an established sequence, thus leaving no room to include Lelluri Abade in a top position there. We can conclude that at least such observations allow us to say that the *ḫišuwa* festival known from Ḫattuša was not simply a duplication of the original festival, but underwent substantial changes, beginning before Muwatalli, who added ceremonies, and culminating with Puduḫeba’s order to search for tablets to reorganize the festival. The celebration of the festival at the royal court in Ḫattuša can therefore also be seen as the result of ‘installation’ or ‘restoration’ (and re-newal) of Kizzuwatnaean traditions by the Hittite kings.

4. RESULTS

What do we know about Kizzuwatnaean religion in Kizzuwatna in the (late) Middle Bronze Age, and before the Hittite influence became strong there and Kizzuwatnaean traditions (together with Hurrian and North Syrian ones) were introduced into Hittite religion? The transfer of traditions to Ḫattuša provides us with written sources, but all these textual materials are from a Hittite perspective only. Despite this problematic situation regarding our sources, one can identify three different religious strata that reflect a diachronic development.

The first stratum reflects the situation up to the middle of the second millennium, before the Hittites made a strong appearance on the Kizzuwatnaean scene. At this time several (local) Stormgods were regarded as the most important divine manifestations of the local religion(s) of Kizzuwatna. The leading position of a Stormgod is not only documented by the seal of Iṣpudaḫšu, which mentions the Stormgod (TONITRUS), the king (REX), life (VITA) and well-being (BONUS₂), but also by the importance of the Stormgod of (Mount) Manuzi (and the *ḫišuwa* festival dedicated to him) or Pilliya’s installation of the Stormgod (of Kummani). Probably the god Ḫuzzi of the Stormgod can also be mentioned, who is worshipped with the circle of the Stormgod of Manuzi in the *ḫišuwa* festival (Haas 1994: 871; Wegner 2002: 265). In Muwatalli’s prayer to the Stormgod (KBo 11.1) Ḫuzzi is invoked together with Ḫutanni. Most probably, Šarruma is also an autochthonous Kizzuwatnaean mountain god (cf. de Martino 2023: 92–95) whose worship spread quite early towards the north-western Syrian area. Thus he was strongly Hurrianised, with the result that our sources mostly refer to him as a Hurrian god; thus his ‘Kizzuwatnaean origin’ is almost completely hidden under his Hurrianisation and we can hardly reconstruct his position in the religious field of Kizzuwatna before the middle of the second millennium. On the female divine side, the most important goddesses were

Lelluri and Išhara, both (early) imported goddesses from the North Syrian area, perhaps due to early Hurrian contacts with Kizzuwatna (cf. Hutter 2021: 166f.; Prechel 2023: 144f.).

Other deities are often mentioned only once (cf. e.g. Zedu, Širinna, Alwil, Agaššari, Gadena, Maḥitena in KUB 45.47+ iv 15.17) or always in similar contexts (cf. Ellantar-pigga, Šurzi *šukri*, Kušurni, Šurinni, Daipaḥini in the *ḥišuwa* festival); it is therefore difficult to give details about them. However, it can be assumed that they were only local (and minor) gods and goddesses of Kizzuwatna, probably of autochthonous origin and worshipped in local cults.

Some Luwian gods were already on the scene when Kizzuwatna was still independent, as the gods Muwanu and Muwatalli can be identified by their names as Luwian and the fire-god may also be a Luwian god (cf. KBo 17.8 iv, a myth and a conjuration of fire). Whether the Luwian god Šanta (cf. KUB 9.31, Zarpīya's Ritual) was also worshipped in Kizzuwatna in early times or only since the Hittite influence, cannot be answered with certainty. Similarly, it cannot be decided whether Maliya (cf. Hutter 2021: 144f.), who is mentioned several times in the *ḥišuwa* texts along with gods of northern Syrian provenience such as Išhara, Allani or Nubadig, was already known in Kizzuwatna before the rise of Hurrian influence; she could also have been 'imported' to Kizzuwatna from the Luwian milieu at an even earlier date.

Chronologically, a younger second stratum reflects the addition of a strong Hurrian and North Syrian influence, mainly from Aleppo, to the 'original' religious situation of Kizzuwatna towards the middle of the second millennium. This leads to the identification or assimilation of local Stormgods with the Hurrian Teššub (who had also taken aspects from the Stormgod of Aleppo). With Teššub, Ḫebat also entered the religious field of Kizzuwatna, and associated with this divine couple were also those goddesses and gods, who formed the 'circles' (or *kalutis*) of Teššub and Ḫebat. Perhaps it was through this influence of Hurrian elements that the (local) Goddess of the Night also gained a higher position in Kizzuwatnaean religion. However, as we know of her mainly through her transfer to Šamuḫa, I must leave it open whether the Goddess of the Night became prominent as a result of Hurrian influence, or whether she was perhaps already held in high esteem before that. Another group of deities to be mentioned are the 'Ancient Gods' (cf. also Trameri 2022: 23–26), which – since some of them have their historical roots in Mesopotamian traditions – were introduced into Kizzuwatna along with the Hurrian influence.

The third stratum is documented in those Hittite sources that begin in the Early Empire period (with Tudḫaliya II, Arnuwanda I and Tudḫaliya III) when Hittite political influence over Kizzuwatna became established (cf. Hutter 2021: 123). Now the Hittites not only 'introduced' Kizzuwatnaean traditions into Ḫattuša, but they also regulated Kizzuwatnaean traditions through their religious administration. The above-mentioned installation texts clearly document how the ancient religious obligations of the Kizzuwatnaean (priest-)king were taken over by the Hittites. In this way, local traditions were maintained (and modified). However, the worship of the Hurrian (and partly Ḫalabite) couple Teššub and Ḫebat was strengthened and syncretised with central Anatolian traditions in Ḫattuša, but also the identification of the local Stormgods with Teššub and perhaps the Goddess of the Night with Šaušga was strengthened (cf. Hutter 2021: 131).

Of course, this can only be a general attempt to reconstruct some knowledge about the autochthonous religion of Kizzuwatna and some steps of its development. Therefore, it is quite appropriate to conclude this paper by quoting Trameri (2020: 351) “that the composite background of the local traditions does not only stand on two main components, one Syro-Hurrian and chiefly Ḫalabite, and one Anatolian (namely Anatolian-Luwian), but is the more complex outcome of a regional elaboration of these traditions – still preponderant – enriched by the inclusion of exclusively local traits”.

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INTERACTING WITH THE DEAD IN KIZZUWATNA

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Abstract

In Hittite Anatolia, the dead played an important role in the life of their living relatives. Rituals from Kizzuwatna illustrate this phenomenon in a colorful manner: in spite of the fear they provoked, the dead were invoked, talked to, worshipped and fed. This paper will explore in context the variety of interactions between the living and the dead as shown in the Kizzuwatna ritual texts.

Coping with death is a central topic in any human society. Hittite Anatolia did not escape this rule and it seems relevant to explore the ways the living and the dead were thought to interact in ancient Kizzuwatna. To answer this question, I searched for the following keywords: *akkant-* “dead” and its logogram *GIDIM* mainly,¹ but also some occurrences of *hanna-* and *hubha-* “grandmother” and “grandfather” whenever they clearly designated dead ancestors. I had already prepared my corpus of attestations when I was asked to review Chiara Cognetti’s book entitled *Totenkult und Ahnenverehrung im hethitischen Anatolien*,² and since her book was in direct relationship with the topic I had announced for this conference, I decided to include some of my remarks about her book in the present paper. I will mostly dwell on texts describing rituals from Kizzuwatna, although I will broaden my approach here and there whenever relevant.

I will not study in detail the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual, i.e. the royal funerary ritual, although I might refer to it briefly at some point. I also decided not to reexamine the *nakku-* and *nakkiu-*spirits of the dead, because I have already dealt with these entities elsewhere.³

First, we will study a sequence of a Kizzuwatnean⁴ ritual in which the destiny of the dead is referred to. Secondly, we will find out what happened whenever a living person was in contact with a deceased person. We will then examine cases in which the deceased talked to the living. Afterward, we will briefly review the references to moving the bones of the dead. We will then examine ritual procedures to invoke the dead either to make

¹ Lastly from the Mainz lexicographic archives in September 2022. Many thanks to Daniel Schwemer and his team for welcoming me to their nice institute. As always, I have collated all the texts that I quote in this paper from the photographs of the tablets. For this reason, my readings and translations will differ here and there from previous editions.

² Cognetti 2021.

³ Mouton 2020.

⁴ Since the majority of the English-speaking Hittitologists seem to have settled for “Kizzuwatnean”, I have to follow their lead and abandon “Kizzuwatnian”.

them come to us or to make them leave a place. Some texts referring to caring for the dead will also be analysed and, finally, the possibility of the dead being mentioned together with a legal procedure will be re-examined.

I. THE DESTINY OF THE DEAD

In 1958, Heinrich Otten⁵ published a tablet which describes without any doubt a ritual from Kizzuwatna (see Appendix, Excerpt 1). This can be argued thanks to the central involvement of the *patili*-priest, a character who is closely associated with the Kizzuwatnean ritual traditions in the Hittite texts. In her book, Cognetti reads KUB 30.28+ Rev. 7–8 in the following way:

ma-ah-ha-an-ma DINGIR^{MES} *ir-ha-an-zi nu* TÚG^{HLA} *ku-e a-pé-e[l x x]x kat-ta-a[n ša]-ra-a me-mi-
iš-kán-zi ka-a-wa-ra-aš pa-it na-aš-ma-wa-ra-[aš x x x]x*⁶

She translates:

“Wenn sie aber bei den Gottheiten die Runde gemacht haben, antworten jeweils die Tücher¹, die von jene[m? (sind)?], von unte[n nach o]ben: ‘Hierhin ist er gegangen oder [er ...].’⁷”

Let me start with the last bit of this passage, where the issue seems quite easy to settle. Why not accept Otten’s suggestion as reading:

“Hierher ist er gegangen oder [dorthin ist er gegangen]”?⁸

I would definitely agree with this restoration, hence my reading. This seems quite logical to me.

However, the passage mentioning the logogram TÚG is more difficult to understand and I do not agree with Cognetti who translates:

“antworten jeweils die Tücher¹, die von jene[m? (sind)?],

thus following Otten’s translation:

“dann die Tücher, welche bei seinem [...], antworten hinauf...”.⁹

Note that Otten was clearly hesitant about this interpretation,¹⁰ since he did not include it in his main translation, but only mentioned it as a discrete footnote. I understand why he was hesitant. This interpretation seems unsatisfactory to me and I think this whole passage should be reinterpreted.

⁵ Otten 1958.

⁶ Cognetti 2021: 331.

⁷ Cognetti 2021: 332.

⁸ Otten 1958: 97.

⁹ Otten 1958: 97 fn. 3.

¹⁰ Compare Otten 1958: 97 with his fn. 3 on the same page.

The first aspect is the meaning of TÚG which is actually quite straightforward; in my opinion, the first clause should be translated in the following way:

“the clothes that (are) his”,

thus referring to the clothing of the deceased person. In such a context, I would expect these clothes to be destroyed in one way or another, either burnt, buried or thrown into a watercourse. On the tablet, after the gap, I see the traces of a sign that ends like an A sign, with a double-headed vertical element. It could be an A, a YA, or a ZA sign, for instance. Maybe we should look for a participle in the nominative-accusative neuter plural form for “destroyed” or a comparable meaning? Note that the relative pronoun appearing together with TÚG^{HA} is precisely in the nominative-accusative neuter plural, so my suggestion does not seem so farfetched. Hence, the translation I suggest, namely:

“the clothes that (are) his [(are) destroyed/burnt (vel sim.).]”

About this Kizzuwatnean ritual in general, I agree with Alfonso Archi¹¹ that nothing in this text connects it to the royal sphere, meaning that it probably deals with non-royal death. As already emphasized by Gary Beckman, Archi and myself,¹² the standard destiny of a non-royal dead person from Kizzuwatna seems to consist of being guided by his mother into the netherworld. This is in stark contrast with the so-called “divine destiny” of the members of the royal family, as we will briefly see below.

II. CONTACTS WITH THE DEAD

A tablet-catalog probably mentions a ritual of “re-consecration” (Appendix, Excerpt 2). The Kizzuwatnean origin of this ritual seems almost certain, since the ritual expert is Tulpiya, who is most probably to be identified with the *purapši*-priest of the same name from Kummanni in Kizzuwatna. This *purapši*-priest is mentioned together with Ammihatna and Māti in CTH 472, a ritual to be performed should someone bring impurity into a temple or another consecrated place.¹³

The ritual on this tablet-catalog seems different from CTH 472, since it mentions the dead in a fragmentary context, whereas the dead are not mentioned in CTH 472. CTH 472 consists of only one tablet according to its colophon, so we probably have to consider the ritual of Excerpt 2 as describing another ritual authored by the same *purapši*-priest Tulpiya.

Since we cannot clearly identify this passage with a known ritual text, and due to its fragmentary state, it is difficult to ascertain what kind of interaction with the dead was being ritually treated here. However, the last word of the passage, namely *šuppiyahhuwar*, if correctly restored, would link this interaction with the need to reconsecrate someone or something. Therefore, we can suggest that a contact between a living person – more specifically

¹¹ Archi 2007: 189.

¹² Beckman 1983: 237; Archi 2007: 189; Mouton 2008: 139–140.

¹³ Strauss 2014.

a consecrated person, such as a priest or the king – and a deceased individual happened and provoked the living person’s defilement.

The ritual of an Old Woman might also serve to purify a person who had been in contact with a corpse (Appendix, Excerpt 3). The ritual probably reflects a combination of at least two distinct cultural layers: a Kizzuwatnean layer, because of the mention the *IŠTAR* goddess of Šaparaššana, a city traditionally located in Kizzuwatna,¹⁴ and a layer from the Upper Land, since a Storm-god and the male gods of Zaziša are also mentioned. Zaziša is generally located in the Upper Land, near Šarešša (the archaeological site of Kuşaklı).¹⁵

The text mentions “lead figurines of spirits” (ZI A.BÁR; § 2) that are pressed, probably against the patient’s body. It also refers to sacrificial meat that is held before the deceased (*ANA* GIDIM IGI-*anda* DIB-*anzi*; § 2), together with lead figurines of knees, eyes and hands, as well as other figurines. Then comes Excerpt 3. The remainder of the text is either very fragmentary or focuses on offerings made to various deities. What I understand from this short passage is that the ritual patron had to be purified from being in contact with the dead. The nature of this contact is not clear from what remains of the text.

Other texts show that such contact can be mainly of two distinct natures. Firstly, visual contact with the dead seems to be sufficient to defile a living person, as documented by Excerpt 4, the passage of an oracular report. The restoration *karipaš* is plausible because of a parallel.¹⁶ Another oracular report (Appendix, Excerpt 5) shows that physical contact with the belongings of a deceased person is also polluting.

A possible consequence of being in contact with the dead is that they might compel one to follow them into the netherworld. A passage in the great substitution ritual for the king illustrates this quite nicely (Appendix, Excerpt 6). One could argue that this text has been considered to be a translation from a Mesopotamian composition. But as Hans Martin Kümmel has shown a long time ago,¹⁷ it cannot simply be defined as such, since it is instead a Hittite adaptation of a foreign model. This means that this ritual was most probably in use in the Hittite capital.

About the last sentence of the passage, since the duplicate does not show a DINGIR sign before *ŠIMTI*, Cognetti, following Kümmel,¹⁸ writes:

“Kümmel 1967: 90 zufolge ist eine Vergöttlichung des Schicksals recht fraglich. Dass es sich dabei nicht um das göttliche Geschick des Königs handelte, zeigen z.B. Ausdrücke wie ‘günstiger Tag’, ‘Tag der Mutter’ und ‘Tag des Geschicks’, die den Todestag des Königs auch ohne Gottesdeterminativ bezeichneten.”¹⁹

I do not see how the quoted expressions actually exclude the possibility of considering the validity of a “divine” destiny for the Hittite king. Furthermore, when we read the

¹⁴ RGTC 6/2: 139 and Forlanini 1988: 139.

¹⁵ RGTC 6: 497 *sub* Zaziša.

¹⁶ KUB 5.7+ Obv. 34: Taggar-Cohen 2006: 291.

¹⁷ Kümmel 1967.

¹⁸ Kümmel 1967: 91–92.

¹⁹ Cognetti 2021: 345 fn. 1062.

immediate continuation of the sentence under scrutiny, namely “Let [m]e (go) to my (divine) destiny, [am]ong the deities of the sky” (*[nu=m]u=kan ammel ANA ^DŠIMT[(I=YA)]*) (dupl. *ŠIMTI=YA*) [*(ANA DINGIR^{MES} ŠA ŠAMĒ) and]a tarni nu=mu=kan* *GIDIM^{HA}-aš iš[(tarna arba t)arna]*), this sounds very much like a divine destiny to me! The DINGIR sign is quite clear on the tablet and no one considered it to be an erasure, as far as I could see.

As I understand this passage, the “divine destiny” of the king is being jeopardized by his being summoned to join the dead. The dead might keep him among them and prevent him from joining the heavenly deities as planned. In another paper,²⁰ I suggested that this royal journey to the heavens might be related to the first rite of the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual, namely the use of an ox as a psychopompous agent right before the cremation of the royal corpse.

III. THE DEAD TALK TO THE LIVING

The ritual of Šamuḫa (Appendix, Excerpt 7) is a well-known example of the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition. The very involvement of the “apprentice *šilalluhi*-woman” relates this ritual to Kizzuwatna since this female ritual expert belongs to the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition.²¹ In passing, it is worth noting that this same female expert also appears in the text of the so-called “ritual mentioning Hamrišhara” from which comes Excerpt 1.

Returning to Excerpt 7, one of the specificities of this passage is the use of the terms *nakkiu-* and *nakku-* for designating important agents of this ritual sequence. The fact that the *nakkiu-* and *nakku-* are specific designations of the dead has already been established by Craig Melchert.²² I have shown elsewhere that they seem exclusive to Kizzuwatna and the neighboring Luwian-speaking region, namely the Lower Land.²³

The incantation uttered during this ritual sequence is as follows:

“If either a [dece]ased or a living person has spoken in an evil manner before the deity (against) the king, now may the ritual patron become pure (again) and purified through the *gangati*-plant from th[at ma]tter!”

According to this incantation, this sequence of the ritual of Šamuḫa aims at purifying the king from evil words that were uttered against him before the deities, in other words, it is supposed to free the king from a straightforward curse. What strikes us is that these words might have been uttered either by a living or by a deceased person. We can compare this to the Luwian expression “(the tongue) of the dead (or) of the living” (Luwian *ulantalliya- huit-waliya-*) that occurs once in the Puriyanni ritual texts and several times in the Kuwattalla ritual texts.²⁴ The same expression also occurs in Hittite in Tunnawiya’s *taknaz dā*-ritual.²⁵

²⁰ Mouton *apud* Arnette, Greco–Mouton 2014: 254–255.

²¹ HEG Š: 1037.

²² Melchert 2014.

²³ Mouton 2020.

²⁴ Yakubovich–Mouton 2023.

²⁵ KUB 9.34 iv 14’ w. dupl. KBo 64.11:7’ (Hutter 1988: 30 and 42): *GIDIM-aš TI-andaš KI.MIN* (dupl. [G]IDIM-aš TI-antaš EM[E-an KI.MIN]).

The dead speaking evil to the living differs from a living person's uttering evil words in the presence of the dead, and this distinction is not clearly expressed in Cognetti's book, in which several phenomena are introduced together in a confusing manner.²⁶

IV. MOVING THE BONES OF THE DEAD

This aspect is already well established. The reference to such a phenomenon in the so-called Apology of Ḫattušili III is well-known (Appendix, Excerpt 8). Moving the bones of the dead – and more specifically those of the royal ancestors –, together with the divine effigies, seems to be the proper way to transfer a Hittite capital city.

A tablet-catalog refers to a ritual procedure accompanying this action (Appendix, Excerpt 9). This tablet-catalog entry could refer to Excerpt 10, although this is only a possibility, not a certainty, since this entry is too short to provide specifics.

Excerpt 10 most probably has a Kizzuwatnean background, since the Hurrian divine name Allani and the Luwian verb *lila-* “to conciliate” both appear. The same verb is also a keyword in the *šalliš waštaiš* corpus and it most probably reflects one of the main functions of this royal funerary ceremony, namely conciliating the recently deceased king with his living successor.²⁷

Returning to Excerpt 10, we see that this ritual is to be performed specifically whenever the bones of the dead are “brought from afar”. Here, I suspect that several dead individuals are being transferred, because of the number of sacrificial victims that are mentioned in this passage. The Sun-god and the deities of the sky altogether get one sheep; Allani, the Sun-goddess of the earth and the deities of the earth get another; the deity Āra receives one sheep; the spirit of the dead receives one fat ox and eight sheep (etc.). At the end of the passage, one ox is sacrificed to the gate and eight sheep to the spirit of the dead.

Eight sheep for only one individual is a bit too much; I suspect this shows that the expression “spirit of the dead” (*akkantaš ZI-ni*) designates a group of deceased individuals. This theory would explain the fact that the dead receive only one fat ox, as if they form a coherent group.

Although she did not use this passage as evidence, I think that it illustrates one of the aspects emphasized by Cognetti in her book, namely that the dead sometimes form a collective and are dealt with as such.²⁸

V. INVOKING THE DEAD

Moving the bones of the dead might sometimes imply invoking the dead afterward. Several verbs refer to invoking the dead, one being *huittiya-* “to draw, to attract” as in a ritual text which mentions an Išhara goddess (Appendix, Excerpt 11) and might therefore

²⁶ Cognetti 2021: 111–113.

²⁷ Mouton *apud* Gilan–Mouton 2014: 97–98.

²⁸ Cognetti 2021: 34 and 45, for instance.

be linked to the Kizzuwatnean background.²⁹ The ritual procedure of attracting an entity along a path is well documented in the ritual texts and most often in the Kizzuwatnean ritual texts, hence my restoration here. When someone sets a deity up in a new place and in a new effigy, this deity has to be invoked into that place and effigy and one could easily consider that a similar procedure was necessary whenever the dead were being moved. This short excerpt might illustrate this, although it is only an assumption.

Another verb that refers to invoking the dead is *mugai-* “to invoke, to entreat”, as is shown in Excerpt 12. This short passage in a tablet-catalog mentions an invocation ritual of Tunnawiya, most probably the famous Old Woman of the Lower Land. The detailed tablet of this ritual has not yet been identified.

Conversely, the tablet-catalog entry Excerpt 13 clearly refers to Excerpt 14. Both texts use *arba talliya-* “to draw away” and *mugawar* “invocation, entreaty” as keywords of the ritual performance.

Let us dwell a little further on Excerpt 14 although its link with Kizzuwatna is uncertain. Francesco Fuscagni, following Otten, writes about KBo 41.1a and b:



“Die zwei Fragmente, die ursprünglich der selben Tafel zugeordnet wurden, konnten inzwischen als Duplikate identifiziert werden.”³⁰

Heinrich Otten, in the Inhalt of KBo 41, indeed wrote:

“Beschwörung, erhalten in zwei Fragmenten, die nach Einsicht in die Originale 1998 in Ankara aber (entgegen einer ersten Textzusammenstellung) trotz frappierender Ähnlichkeit nicht zur gleichen Tafel gehören.”³¹

However, one could question this judgment, since Otten does not provide any explanation for rejecting an indirect join between these two fragments. Did he exclude the join because of depth discrepancies between the two fragments? I checked the online photographs of the two fragments and the two depths do not seem incompatible with each other, as far as I can see. The sign size on each fragment seems to be the same as well, i.e. about 2.5 mm as the average height of the vertical elements according to the scales shown on the online photographs.















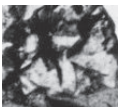









More importantly, the two scribal hands are strikingly similar, as already noted by Otten himself. Actually, when we look closely at all the sign shapes in common between the two tablet fragments (see Table 1), there is not a single sign shape that greatly varies.

	KBo 41.1a	KBo 41.1b
MA		

²⁹ Prechel 1996.

³⁰ Fuscagni 2013.

³¹ Otten, *KBo* 41, IV.

RI		
LI		
YA		
DA		
IT		
AR		
KU		
HA		
ŠA		
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AH		

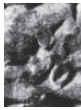





HI		
NA-		
NINDA		

Table 1: List of all the signs in common between KBo 41.1a and KBo 41.1b.

The paragraph lines also have the same aspect, namely they are very thin and yet deeply impressed. Furthermore, the number of lines per paragraph seems exactly the same and the content of each fragment also nicely supplements each other.

Therefore, we can suggest that these two fragments form an indirect join although both fragments would have to be collated together at the Ankara museum mainly to recheck once again the fragment depths. There is probably no direct join here,³² since Otten would have found it while collating the original fragments if it were the case, and some text seems to be missing between the two fragments, but an indirect join seems definitely possible.

This would constitute a single-columned tablet, a format that is not unusual for Middle Script tablets of ritual texts, see for instance the ritual of Šamuḫa (Excerpt 7). The Middle Script dating of this tablet has already been suggested by Otten³³ and is ascertained by the shape of the Ú and the TAR signs (see Table 2). Maybe the KID sign, which looks very much like a É sign, could also be considered a Middle Script trait, since the Middle Script scribes tended to put more vertical elements to signs compared with the New Script scribes; but I have not had time to check this aspect. I think that the imbricated *KAT* + *TA* signs could also be taken into account for a Middle Script ductus. Even the tendency to point the wedge slightly downward in the AR sign reminds me of the Middle Script signs of the Luwili corpus.³⁴

³² Contra Czyżewska 2012: 85. Melchert 2010: 210 already makes the indirect join in his transcription and translation of the incipit without justifying it or even mentioning it, since he calls this text KBo 41.1. On March 30th, 2023, the *Konkordanz* website uploaded two new photographs of KBo 41.1a and KBo 41.1b in which these two fragments are considered as indirect joints (see BF05257 and BF05258), in line with the hypothesis I defend here. Although the relevant *Konkordanz* entries still list KBo 41.1a and KBo 41.1b as duplicates, these newly available photographs seem to me to provide undeniable confirmation of my suggestion, although I only became aware of them after this article had been written. However, the distance between the two fragments must be slightly increased, in the light of the restitutions proposed here (see Excerpt 14). I would like to thank Gerfrid Müller for telling me when these photographs were uploaded.

³³ Otten, *KBo* 41, IV.

³⁴ Yakubovich–Mouton 2023, Chapter 2.







	Shape	Occurrence
Ú		KBo 41.1b Obv. 2
TAR		KBo 41.1b Obv. 20
KID		KBo 41.1b Obv. 3
<i>KAT+TA</i>		KBo 41.1b Obv. 6
AR	 	KBo 41.1b Obv. 1 KBo 41.1a Obv. 1

Table 2: Diagnostic signs for the dating of KBo 41.1.

Since Cognetti did not deal with this composition in length,³⁵ and since I found several discrepancies with Fuscagni's readings,³⁶ I provide a different edition of this composition for this paper (Appendix, Excerpt 14). Compare the incipit of this text to Excerpt 13.

The mention of a "sacred bedroom" (*šuppi É.ŠÀ-ni*) on Rev. 10' might refer to a part of the mausoleum of the deceased person. This ritual sequence occurring there might refer to an incubation ritual – we know of other examples of this, including for contacting the dead.³⁷ This theory might find support in the mention of the *galaktar*-plant that is also used in incubation rituals, such as that of Paškuwatti's ritual.³⁸ Maybe the female ritual expert is trying to get the deceased person to speak to her client through the dreams of the latter? This is only a suggestion. This possible incubation is followed by an incantation, which states:

"Hereby, we have entreated (and) drawn you [...]. Turn in favour [of the ri]tual [patron]!",

³⁵ She provides only a short footnote about it: Cognetti 2021: 111 fn. 289.

³⁶ Fuscagni 2013.

³⁷ Mouton 2003.

³⁸ Mouton 2007: 73.

which is the usual way to soothe an angry entity and divert its anger elsewhere.

Following a similar logic, a ritual might serve to draw the dead for settling an issue they have with the living. This is what Excerpt 15 shows, a *mantalli*-ritual being one of the ritual procedures for solving such a problem.

VI. CARING FOR THE DEAD

Of Kizzuwatnean origin is Zelliya's ritual to perform after someone dies of Išhara's disease (Appendix, Excerpt 16). The usual list of paraphernalia follows this excerpt, among which typically Kizzuwatnean ritual items, such as *kišri*- and *tarpalla*-woolen items and the "water of purity" (A *šihelliyas*; i 13). On the reverse, the tablet fragment starts with a Hurrian incantation and then the text states:

"As [... *utter*(s)] these w[ords], he/she br[ings] the dead outside [...], so that I burn him/her completely [...]."

This passage is important, since if we agree that it contains several Kizzuwatnean features, it would indicate that burning a human corpse was the custom in Kizzuwatna, at least whenever the person died of a disease. Burning the corpse is also the custom during the royal funerary ritual, according to the famous *šalliš waštaiš* texts. But could this custom be a Kizzuwatnean importation to the Hittite capital city? From the content of the *šalliš waštaiš* tablets, we observe a mixture of the so-called Hatto-Hittite and Hurrian cultural layers,³⁹ which were already common at the beginning of the Imperial period. The so-called "ŠU.GI liturgy" edited by Kassian and others⁴⁰ also reflects the Kizzuwatnean tradition of burning the dead, but we cannot ascertain whether the same funerary practice was also at home in the Hattian land before the adoption of Hurrian rites in Central Anatolia.

Thus, caring for the dead might start with burning his/her corpse. The cult of the dead begins immediately after that. It includes feeding the dead through offering him foodstuffs, as illustrated by Excerpt 17 with a probable Kizzuwatnean background, since the goddess Išhara is involved in the ritual procedure. Unfortunately, this text is very fragmentary. The "bread of the dead" or "the bread of the stone-house", i.e. the mausoleum, is mentioned in several texts, such as a prayer addressed to the Storm-god of Kummani (Appendix, Excerpt 18) and the ritual of Ammihatna, priest of Išhara and man of Kizzuwatna (Appendix, Excerpt 19).

A very fragmentary tablet (Appendix, Excerpt 20), mentions installing a deceased person and pronouncing his/her name over an *āpi*-pit and then sacrificing an animal in that same pit. The *āpi*-pit is a well-known Kizzuwatnean feature.⁴¹ Here it functions both as an access to the dead and as a receptacle for an offering addressed to the dead. Caring for the dead also includes bathing their effigies, as documented by Excerpt 21.

³⁹ Pace Kassian et al. 2002: 13.

⁴⁰ Kassian et al. 2002: 641–654.

⁴¹ The specific term *āpi*- is clearly linked to Kizzuwatna in the ritual texts. However, attracting or worshipping deities from/in pits is not exclusive to this area (see Miller 2004: 443 and Mouton 2019b).

VII. THE DEAD IN A LEGAL PROCEDURE?

Excerpt 22 is a passage of a version of CTH 448. CTH 448 is the text of a royal substitution ritual, the origin of which could be Kizzuwatna, although this is uncertain. What intrigued me is the alleged mention of a wheel of justice at the very beginning of this excerpt according to Cognetti, since she reads KUB 42.94 + HHT 80 iv³ 9'–12' in the following way:

nu DINGIR^{LU4} *ku-iš* A-NA ^{GIS}UM[BIN *ku-ut-r(u-uš)/ru-(^rú^r-uš nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i)*] *ka-a-ša-wa a-pé-e-da-aš kat-^rta^r-an* [*k(a-ru-ú ku-u-uš)*] *tar-pal-li-iš a-ra-a[(n-t)]a-ri nu-wa-za ku-u-u[(š še-ek-tén)]* LUGAL-un-ma-wa-za *le-e* [(*nam-ma š*)]*e-ek-te-e-ni*⁴²

In so doing, Cognetti closely follows Piotr Taracha's readings.⁴³ Cognetti translates this passage in the following way:

“Die Gottheit, die vor dem (Gerichts-)Ra[d Zeu]gin (ist), sprich[t] folgendermaßen: ‘Hier für jene stehen schon längst diese Substitute. Nun merkt euch diese, den König aber merkt euch nicht mehr!’⁴⁴

The continuation of the text mentions the “grandmothers and grandfathers” as agents of the substitution ritual (KUB 42.94 + HHT 80 iv² 15'; see Excerpt 22), hence the study of this text in this paper.

There are only two clear attestations of a wheel of justice, as far as I know. The first attestation is in the so-called Apology of Ḫattušili III, where this future king is “called to the wheel” (ANA ^{GIS}UMBIN *lamniya-*) for being judged in his conflict against Arma-Tarhunta, son of Zidā and ex-governor of the Upper Land.⁴⁵ In another paper,⁴⁶ I have argued that the dreamt speech of Šawoška to her human *protégé* actually is: “(It is) I (who) entrust you to the deity (implied: the deity of the wheel or rather the divinized wheel, since duplicate B of this text has ^UMBIN), (therefore) do not be afraid!” The immediate continuation of the text supports this interpretation.

The second attestation of a wheel of justice is in the Hittite Laws § 198, where the expression “they kneel down (at) the wheel” is used, as already noticed by Alfonso Archi, who suggests that this wheel is that of the king's cart.⁴⁷

Returning to CTH 448, the alleged mention of a wheel of justice in the context of a royal substitution ritual intrigued me,⁴⁸ because there is no parallel of this anywhere, as far

⁴² Cognetti 2021: 50.

⁴³ Taracha 2000: 50–51.

⁴⁴ Cognetti 2021: 51.

⁴⁵ KUB 1.1+ i 35–39 w. dupl. (Otten 1981: 6–7 and Mouton 2007: 89): [*nu=(mu) ŠEŠ=YA 'NI*]]R.GÁ[(L)] ANA ^{GIS}UMBIN [(*lam*)]*niyat* ^DIŠTAR=*ma=mu* GAŠAN=*YA* Ū-*a[(t)] nu=mu Ū-it kī memišta* DINGIR-LIM-*nī=wa=(t)ta ammu* *tarnabhi nu=wa lē nabti nu* DINGIR-LIM-*za parkūššun* “My brother Muwattalli called me to the wheel, but Šawoška my Lady appeared to me in a dream and through (this) dream, she said this: ‘(It is) I (who) entrust you to the deity, (therefore) do not be afraid!’ Thus, I was (declared) innocent by the deity.”

⁴⁶ Mouton 2019a: 25–26.

⁴⁷ Archi 2000. Hoffner 1997: 156–157 who suggests “they roll the wheel”, but there is no other clear parallel for this translation of a verb *haliya-*.

⁴⁸ In her review, Dardano 2002: 184 links this wheel of justice with the occurrences referred to here and mentioned in Archi 2000, but she does not question this reading in the context of a royal substitution ritual.

as I know. Therefore, I decided to have a closer look at the relevant passage, namely HHT 80:1', where only two signs show partially (see fig. 1). These are the two signs that were read ^{GIS}UM[BIN] both by Taracha and Cognetti. These two signs are so fragmentary on the tablet that it seems rather rash not to add a question mark after each of these signs.



Fig. 1: Detail of the online photograph of HHT 80 showing the two fragmentary signs of line 1'.

The sign that is supposed to be UMBIN on the tablet fragment, i.e. the second sign on the line, is composed of a horizontal element with a wedge above it and a vertical element on its right side. No trace is visible beyond this vertical element whereas an empty space is clearly visible, and this is incompatible with an UMBIN sign. Furthermore, the presence of the wedge on a medium level is also unorthodox at the beginning of an UMBIN sign. About the reading ^{GIS}UMBIN, Taracha writes:

“Lesung ^{GIS}DU[BIN] nach der Umschrift von H.G. Güterbock aus der Mitte der dreißigste Jahre, die mir Herr Prof. Dr. H. Otten freundlicherweise zugänglich machte.”⁴⁹

Obviously, no one doubts the exceptional philological competence of Hans Gustav Güterbock, but this does not mean that we have to believe every single thing he suggested without questioning it. In this very context, I find it quite risky, since the tablet fragment does not support his reading.

The second issue is the alleged keyword *kutruš* “witness”. After having checked the two parallel texts of this particular line, only [...]x-uš (IBoT 3.147:4'; see fig. 2) and [...] -u-^ruš⁵⁰ (Bo 3367 ii 4'⁵⁰) are visible respectively. So it is actually quite difficult to assert with certainty that *kutruš* was meant in this passage.



Fig. 2: Detail of the online photograph of IBoT 3.147 showing the beginning of line 4'.

All in all, not much remains of this first sentence and to my question “Are the dead involved with a wheel of justice?”, from this text, I would answer: “I am not so sure”.

⁴⁹ Taracha 2000: 50 fn. 131.

⁵⁰ According to Fuscagni 2007: 30. I could not collate this Bo fragment. The content of this fragment does not duplicate closely KUB 42.94+ iv³ 9' ff. and is labelled as “parallel”, not duplicate, in Fuscagni 2007 (with prior bibliography).

CONCLUSIONS

Since rituals originating from Kizzuwatna are so numerous among the ritual texts of Hittite Anatolia, they provide many insights into possible interactions between the living and the dead. Excerpt 1 shows that the basic inhabitant of Kizzuwatna was believed to join his mother in the netherworld after his death. Excerpts 2 to 7 basically illustrate the issues caused by contact, either visual or closer contact with the dead. Excerpts 8 to 10 show that moving the bones of the dead implied a whole ritual; this ritual might have included some invocation procedure, as illustrated in Excerpts 11 to 15.

Excerpt 16 illustrates the Kizzuwatnean custom of burning the corpse, as does the Kizzuwatnean “ŠU.GI liturgy” of the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual. Caring for the dead in Kizzuwatna also implied bringing the dead person food, as shown in Excerpts 17 to 20. Finally, the ritual use of an *āpi*-pit, as illustrated in Excerpt 20, also constitutes a Kizzuwatnean way of communicating with the dead. All these testimonies draw us a little closer to the ancient inhabitants of Kizzuwatna.

APPENDIX

Keywords designating the dead or dying in bold

Excerpt 1: KUB 30.28+ Rev. 1–12 and dupl. KBo 34.80:4'–7' (CTH 488: Ritual mentioning Hamrišhara, NS; Otten 1958: 96 and Cognetti 2021: 330–331)

[*namm*]a=kan ^{LU}pāti<l>iš kuiš šubhi šer nu=kan É-ri katta[nda] halzāi **akkanza** kuiš n=an=kan ŠUM=ŠU halziššāi ku<wa>[pi=war=aš] pait n=aš=kan DINGIR^{MES}-aš kuedaš anda nu apūš DINGIR^{MES} katt[an šarā] **memiškanzi** INA Éšinapši=war=aš pait apāš=(š)a=kan š[ubhaz] kattanda halzāi kuwapi=war=aš pait n=aš=kan DINGIR^{MES}-aš kuedaš namma anda nu kattan šarā apūš taran[zi] apē=ya=[war=aš p]ait mahhan=ma DINGIR^{MES} irhanzi nu TUG^{HA} kue apel [...] kattan [ša]rā **memiškanzi** kā=war=aš pait našma=war=a[š apā pai]t nu=kan šub[h]az kattanda 6-ŠU memai šarā=kan 6-ŠU me[manzi] INA 7 KASKAL=ma=kan mahhan kattanda (dupl. GIM-an GAM-anda) memai kuwapi=war=aš p[ai(t apē=m)]a=(š)ši=kan kattan šarā **memiyanzi** annaš=wa=(š)ši [(U₄-az) āraš nu=w]ar=an=za ŠU^{HA}-it IŠBAT nu=war=an pēhuteš

“[Th]en, the *patili*-priest who (is) on the roof calls out down toward the house. He calls by name the one who (is) **the deceased** (saying): ‘Wher[e] did [he] go?’ and the deities with whom he (is) say (looking) [upward]: ‘He went to the *šinapši*-temple.’ That one (i.e. the same *patili*-priest) calls out (again) down [from] the r[oo]f (saying): ‘Where did he go?’ and the deities with whom he (is) then say (looking) upward: ‘He went there.’ As they treat (ritually) the deities one by one, the clothes that (are) his [(are) *destroyed/burnt* (*vel sim.*)], (then) they say (looking) [up]ward: ‘He went here or [he went there].’ He speaks six times down from the roof and [they] spe[ak] six times (looking) upward. As he says (looking) downward [for] the seventh time: ‘Where did he go?’ those ones speak upward to him (saying): ‘The day of his mother [has come]. She took him by the hand and she led him.’”

Excerpt 2: KUB 30.63 v² 13' (CTH 282.3: Tablet-catalog, NS; Dardano 2006: 246)

[...] AWĀT¹ *Tulpiya* [...] ^{LU.MES}*pura* pšīēš GIDIM^{HA}-aš [...]x DUMU^{MES} DUTU e-... ...-nikšīyaš [...] x-walluš [...] x [...] -li [...] šuppiy] *abhūwar*

[...th tablet ...]. Words (of) Tulpiya [(and) ... if the *pura*]pši-priests [treat ritually] **the dead** [...] the sons of the Sun-deity [...] ... [(re)-consecr]ation.”

Excerpt 3: KUB 39.57 i 7'–9' (CTH 449.3: Ritual fragment mentioning the dead; NS; Torri 1999: 47–48, Görke 2015a: § 2 and Cognetti 2021: 150–151)

EN SISKUR=*kan* INIM-*an anda memai* [...] Z]I-TIM *uišuriantan arha lānzi* ZI^{HA}=*kan* IGI^{HA} UZU^UGABA [...] U^Z]UBUR *ginuwa ANA* GIDIM *arha* SUD-*anzi*

“At the same time, the ritual patron utters the word(s of the ritual). They let (one of) the pressed (figurines of) spirits go and they retrieve the (other figurines of) spirits, eyes, chest [...], breast (and) knees from **the dead**.”

Excerpt 4: KUB 16.34 i 13–16 (CTH 579: šU and MUŠEN oracles, NS; Taggar-Cohen 2006: 294–295 and Cognetti 2021: 177–178)

n=aš namma punuššüen nu memir ŠA É ^{LU}NINDA.DÜ.DÜ-*wa=kan* UR.[GI₇ *anda*] *paít nu=wa* ^{GIS}*papün* *arha hurutaet nu=wa=kan* NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI=*pat* [*karipaš*]² ^{LU}NINDA.DÜ.DÜ=*ya=wa* GIDIM *aušta warapta=ma=wa=za* UL *nu=war=aš* ANA É.[DINGIR-LIM] *anda ueriyanza ešta* DINGIR-LUM *aši maršaš-tarrin išiyahta nu* MUŠEN *HURRI* NU.S[IG₅-*du* NU.SIG₅]

“We interrogated them further and they said: ‘A do[ge]ntered the house of the baker and *knocked over* the *bread tray*. Then it [ate] the daily bread. Also, a baker saw **a deceased**, but he did not bathe himself and then he was called in the temple. Deity, have you revealed that (as) a sacrilege? (If it is the case), may the *HURRI* bird(s) [be] unfav[orable]. (It is) unfavorable.’”

Excerpt 5: KUB 5.10+ Obv. 26–29 (CTH 567: Oracular report on the cult of *IŠTAR* of Niniveh, NS; Cognetti 2021: 185)

n=aš namma punuššüen nu memir [...]x AN [...]x DUMU-RU BA.ÜŠ *nu=war=aš=kan* ANA ^{GIS}NÁ *kueda*[š B]A.ÜŠ *nu=war=at namma arha* UL *warnut nu=[wa]r=aš=kan apētaš=pat* ^{GIS}NÁ-*aš šeškešket* [*nu=w*]ar=*aš=kan* ŠA É.[DINGIR-LIM=*pat*] *iyattat*

“We asked them further and they said: ‘[...] the son **died** (but) he did not burn the bed in whic[h] he [d]ied afterward. He even slept in that bed [and] (then) he even walked into the te[m]ple.’”

Excerpt 6: KBo 15.2+ iv 13'–19' w. dupl. KUB 17.31:14'–20' (CTH 421.1: Great substitution ritual, NS; Kümmel 1967: 62–63 and Cognetti 2021: 344)

nu ANA ^DUTU AN-E IGI-*anda* (dupl. *menabhandā*) *kišan* (dupl. *kiššan*) [(*me*)*mai*] ^DUTU AN-E EN=*ya* *kuit iyanu*[(*n*)] (dupl. *kuit=wa* DÜ-*nun*) [(*nu=mu=kan* ^{GIS}GU).ZA *a*]rha *datten n=at tamēta*[(*ni*)] (dupl. *damēdani*) [(*pešten n=at* x) ... *amm*]uk=*ma=kan* GIDIM^{HA}-*aš* *anda u*[(*eriyatten nu=za=kan* *kā*)]ša GIDIM^H]-*aš* *anda nu=kan* ANA ^DUTU A[(N)-E (EN=*ya* *uwabha*)*t nu=m*]u=*kan ammel* ANA ^DŠIMT[(I=*ya*)] (dupl. *ŠIMTI=ya*) [(ANA DINGIR^{MES} ŠA ŠAMĒ) *and*]a *tarni nu=mu=kan* GIDIM^{HA}-*aš iš*[(*tarna arha t*)*arna*]

“He spea[ks] thus before the Sun-god of the sky: ‘Sun-god of the sky, my Lord, what did I do? You (pl.) have taken my thr[one a]way from me and you have given it to another. [...] (It is) [m]e you have summoned among **the dead**, so that here (I am), among **the dead**. I have come to (you), Sun-god of the sky, my Lord! Let [m]e (go) to my (divine) destiny, [am]ong the deities of the sky and s[et me free] from amongst **the dead**!’”

Excerpt 7: KUB 29.7+ Obv. 19–36 (CTH 480.1: Ritual of Šamuḫa, MS; Görke and Melzer 2016: § 4–5)

EGIR=*šU=ma gangati*^{SAR} MUNUS^{GAB}.Z[U.Z]U^{MUNUS}šilallūhi *nakkiušaš peran nakkuwaš=(š)a damai* [g]angā-t^{SAR} *parā ēpzi huišwanduš=(š)a kuiuš* ^{GIS}ERIN-*az harkanzi nu apēdaš=(š)a damai gangati*^{SAR} *parā ēpzi*

gangati=ma hūdāk nakkiuāš parā iŠTU LUGAL ēpzi UNŪT LUGAL=ma EGIR-an UL kuwatqa harkanzi
^DUTU-ŠI=kan imma KAXU-az anda apēniššan memiškezzi EGIR=ŠU=ma *gangati*^{SAR} IŠTU LUGAL ANA UNŪT
MUNUS.LUGAL *menabhanda nakkuuāš peran parā ēpzi* EGIR=ŠU=ma IŠTU UNŪT MUNUS.LUGAL ANA
LUGAL *menabhanda gangati*^{SAR} *nakkuuāš peran parā ēpzi* EGIR=ŠU=ma IŠTU LUGAL ANA UNŪT MUNUS.
LUGAL=*ya gangati nakkuuāš takšan parā ēpzi* § [nu=z]a ^{MUNUS}GĀB.ZU.ZU ^{MUNUS}šilalluhi damai *gangati*^{SAR}
dāi nu huišwanduš kuiuš [^{GIŠ}ERI]N-az h[arka]nzi n=at apēdaš=(š)a QĀTAMMA parā ēpzi *nakkuuāš=at*
māhhan [e]nī udd[an]ī parā appišket damaiš=ma ^{MUNUS}GĀB.ZU.ZU ^{MUNUS}šilalluhi d[am]ai parkui *gang[ati]*^{SAR}
d[āi] n=at ANA DINGIR-LIM IŠTU ŠA LUGAL parā ēpzi anda=ma=kan kiššan memai mān LUGAL {x x}
[akka]nza našma huišwanza PĀNI DINGIR-LIM idālauanni memian harzi kinun=a EN SÍSKUR ap[ēz
udd]ānaz parkuiš *gangatānzaš=(š)a ēšdu* EGIR=ŠU=ma *gangati*^{SAR} IŠTU LUGAL ANA UNŪT MUNUS.LUGAL
parā ēpzi EGIR=ŠU=ma *gangati*^{SAR} IŠTU UNŪT MU[NUS.LU]GAL ANA LUGAL *menabhanda parā [ēpz]i* EGIR=
ŠU=ma *gangati* IŠTU LUGAL-RI ANA UNŪT MUNUS.LUGAL *takšan parā ēpzi namma* [LUGAL MUNUS].LUGAL
gangati^{SAR} *anda takšan kuwašnuanzi nu=za warpanzi* É.[DINGIR-LIM=*ya*]=kan harnuanzi

“Afterward, the apprentice *šilalluhi*-woman holds a *gangati*-plant before the *nakkiu*- and another [*g*]angati-plant before the *nakku*-. She also holds another *gangati*-plant before the living ones whom they hold with cedar-wood. She holds at once the *gangati*-plant from the king toward the *nakkiu*-. They do not hold the king’s items behind in any way. At the same time, she speaks orally in the aforementioned way (about) the king. Afterward, she holds a *gangati*-plant from the king toward the queen’s items before the *nakku*-. Afterward, she holds the *gangati*-plant from the queen’s items toward the king before the *nakku*-. Afterward, she holds the *gangati*-plant before the *nakku*- from the king and the queen’s items both. § The apprentice *šilalluhi*-woman takes another *gangati*-plant and she also holds it in the same way before the living ones whom they h[ol]d with [ce]dar-wood, as she was holding it before the *nakku*- for that matter. Another apprentice *šilalluhi*-woman [t]akes another pure *gangati*-plant and she holds it before the deity beside the king. At the same time, she says: “If either a [dece]ased or a living person has spoken in an evil manner before the deity (against) the king, now may the ritual patron become pure (again) and purified through the *gangati*-plant from th[at ma]tter!” Afterward, she holds the *gangati*-plant from the king [tow]ard the [queen’s] items. Afterward, she [hol]ds the *gangati*-plant from the qu[ee]n’s items before the king. Afterward, she holds the *gangati*-plant from the king before the queen’s items both. Then they let [the king and queen] both kiss the *gangati*-plant. They bathe and they also sprinkle (a liquid) on the te[m]ple.”

Excerpt 8: KUB 1.1+ ii 52–53 w. dupl. KBo 3.6+ ii 33–34 (CTH 81: Apology of Ḫattušili III, NS; Otten 1981: 14)

namma=kan DINGIR^{MES} URU HATTI GIDIM^{HÁ}=*ya pedi ninikta n=aš* INA URU.DU-ašša katta (dupl. GAM) *pēdaš*
nu URU.DU-aššan *ēpta* (dupl. *uetet*)

“Then he moved the deities of Ḫattuša and the **dead** to (a new) place. He brought them down to Tarhuntašša, so that he took Tarhuntašša (as his new capital).”

Excerpt 9: KBo 31.5+ ii 12 w. dupl. KBo 31.26 Obv. 9 (CTH 277.6: Tablet-catalog type x TUP-PU, NS; Dardano 2006: 164 and Cognetti 2021: 196)

[n TŪ]PPU mān=kan ŠA GIDIM *haštai pēdi n[i(ninkanzi QATI)]*

“[...th tab]let. If they move the bones of the **dead** into (a new) place. Finished.”

Excerpt 10: KUB 30.27 Obv. 7’–Rev. 8’ (CTH 451: Two funerary rituals with transfer of the bones, NS; Görke 2015b: § 6–9 and Cognetti 2021: 191–192 fn. 566)

haštai=ma tūwaza kuit KUR-az udan nu *kuitman* U₄.KAM^{HÁ} *mukišnaš nu=(š)ši* U₄.KAM-tili SISKUR *kišan*
peškanz[ī] § IGI-zi=*ya=an* U₄.KAM-ti *kuwapi* : *lilanzi nu=kan* I UDU ANA ^DUTU DINGIR^{MES} ŠAMĒ=*ya*
[šī]panti I UDU=*ma* ANA ^DAllani *taknaš* ^DUTU-i [taknaš=(š)a DINGIR^{MES}-aš BAL-ti [I UDU=m]a=kan

ANA ^DĀra BAL-ti § [kuit=w]a=(š)ši kuit eššūeni [nu=war=a]t=ši āra ešdu [1 GU₄] NIGA=[ma]=kan 8 UDU akkantaš ZI-ni BAL-t[ī] § lukkatti=ma 1 UDU ANA ^DUTU DINGIR^{MES} ŠAMĒ=ya BAL-ti 1 UDU=ma=kan taknaš ^DUTU-i ^DAllāni taknaš=(š)a DINGIR^{MES}-aš BAL-ti 1 UDU=ma=kan ANA ^DĀra BAL-ti 1 GU₄ ašgaš=ma=kan 8 UDU=ya akkantaš ZI-ni BAL-ti

“The bones that (are being) brought from afar from the land, as long as (there are) the days of invocation, they give the following daily sacrifice: as soon as they conciliate him (i.e. the deceased person) on the first day, he [sa]crifices one sheep to the Sun-god and the deities of the sky and he sacrifices one sheep to Allani, the Sun-goddess of the earth and the deities [of the earth]. He (also) sacrifices one sheep to Āra (saying): § ‘May whatever we do for him be acceptable for him!’ He sacrifices [one] fat [ox] (and) eight sheep to **the spirit of the dead**. § On the next day, he sacrifices one sheep to the Sun-god and the deities of the sky and he sacrifices one sheep to the Sun-goddess of the earth, Allani, and the deities of the earth. He (also) sacrifices one sheep to Āra and he sacrifices one ox to the gate and eight sheep to **the spirit of the dead**.”

Excerpt 11: KBo 59.54:2'–3' (CTH 487.3: Ritual with the mention of Išhara, NS; Melzer 2015: § 1' and Cognetti 2021: 154)

[... ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI GIDIM KASKAL-az [... hu-it-ti-y]a²-az-zi

“The Old Woman [attr]acts **the dead** through the paths [...].”

Excerpt 12: KUB 30.57+ 1. col. 5'–7' (CTH 276.3: Tablet-catalog type DUB.x.KAM, NS; Dardano 2006: 48)

[D]UB.1.KAM AWĀT ^fDunnawiya ^{[MUN]US}ŠU.GI [m]ān akkantan mūgami UL QĀTI [E]GIR-izzi=ma=(š)ši TUPPU nāwi uemiyauen

“First tablet. Words of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman. [I]f I invoke **the dead**. Not finished. We have not yet found the next tablet.”

Excerpt 13: KBo 14.70+ i 28' (CTH 276.11: Tablet-catalog type DUB.x.KAM, NS; Dardano 2006: 75)

[DUB.x.KAM QĀT]I mān=kan akkanza kuedanikki [arha tall]iyanza mugauwaš

“Tablet number x. Finished. (Tablet) of entreaty if a **deceased** is drawn away from someone.”

Excerpt 14: KBo 41.1a (A₁) (+) KBo 41.1b (A₂) Ro 1–2 (CTH 453.1: Fragment of a defensive ritual, MS; Fuscagni 2013)

§ 1

A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 1. UM-MA ^fZa-a[r-o o-y]a⁵¹ ma-a-an-kán ak-kán^{an}-za ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ar-ba

A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 2. tal-li-ya-a[n-za na-an E]GIR-pa mu-ga-a-am-mi ú-i-ya-am-mi nu ki-iš-ša-an i-ya-mi

A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 3. da-a-ah-hi-ma-^rza¹ [o o 1 ^{GIS}BANŠU]R AD.KID 1 ^{GIS}ta-hu-pa-az-^rzi¹ AD.KID 10 NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ har-pa-an-za 20-li-iš

A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 4. 36 NINDA.GUR₄.^rRA¹ [x NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ² a]n-da ne-e-a-an-te-eš⁵² ^rŠA¹ DINGIR-LIM páh-hu-i-na-an ga-la-ak-tar

⁵¹ The number of missing signs was calculated from a photomontage I produced for the occasion, since the photographs available online brought the two fragments too close together according to the restoration of Obv. 2.

⁵² Another type of bread might be restored in the gap here, maybe NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ which appears later in the text. A number might appear before this sign group. For *anda neyant-* in association with a bread type, see Fuscagni 2013: § fn. 2.

- A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 5. BAPPIR DIM₄^{GIS}PÈŠ^{GIS}GEŠ^{GIS}TIN HÁD.DU.A^{GIS}SE₂₀-ER-TUM^{GIS}ša-ma-ma^{GIS}ha-ši-ig-ga
 A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 6. *ku-it-ta* [te-pu ... NINDA²] EM-ŠÚ *ku-iš-ša pa-ra-a* NINDA² pá-r-ša-aš EM-ŠÚ GA.KIN.AK *te-pu*
 A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 7. ^{GIS}ša^r-[hi-iš^{GIS}ha-ap-pu-ri-y]a-aš GI.DÙG.GA *ku-it-ta* ^r1/2^r UP-NI 1 ^{GIS}UD.MUNUS.HÚB
 A₁₍₊₎2 Obv. 8. 9^N[^{A4}pa-aš-ši-la-aš ... a]l-ki-iš-ta-ni-iš^{GIS}ha-tal-ki-iš-na-aš

§ 2

- A₂ Obv. 9. [... 1^{DUG}KU]-^rKU-UB^r *ta-u-wa-al* 1^{DUG}KU-KU-UB *wa-al-hi* 2^{TUG}*ku-re-eš-šar*
 A₂ Obv. 10. [... GA]L^rGIR₄^r *la-a-bu-wa-a-an* 1 GI *nu-uš-ša-an* SÍG SA₅
 A₂ Obv. 11. [... ^{UDU}i-ya-a]n-ta-aš^{SIG}bu-ut-tu-ul-li

§ 3

- A₂ Obv. 12. [... *ar-ha*] ^rtal^r-li-ya-an *har-zi nu ma-a-an a-pu-u-un an-tu-uh-ša-an*
 A₂ Obv. 13. [...]x-zi *nu pa-iz-zi ku-iš*
 A₂ Obv. 14. [... *nu*]-za UDU *e-ep-zi na-an* ANA SÍSKUR
 A₂ Obv. 15. [... *an-t*]u-uh-ha-aš *ar-ha tal-li-ya-an har-zi*
 A₂ Obv. 16. [...]za² *ku-e-da-ni ar-ha tal-li-ya-*^ran^r ^rhar^r-[zi]
 A₂ Obv. 17. [... *d*]a-a-i *nu ma-a-ab-ha-an*
 A₂ Obv. 18. [...]zi

§ 4

- A₂ Obv. 19. [... *da-a*]-^ri^r *še-ra-aš-ša-an* 9 NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ *da-a-i*
 A₂ Obv. 20. [... ŠA DINGIR-LIM pá-r-hu-i-na-aš *ga*]-*la-a-ak-tar* BAPPIR DIM₄^{GIS}rPÈŠ^r
 A₂ Obv. 21. [... ^{UDU}r]i^r-ya-an-ta-aš^{SIG}e-eš-ri NINDA EM-ŠÚ
 A₂ Obv. 22. [...] 1^{TUG}*ku-re-eš-šar-ra-aš-ša-an da-a-i*
 A₂ Obv. 23. [... ^{GI}š]ha-ap-pu-^rri-ya^r-an GI.DÙG.DA
 A₂ Obv. 24. [...] (vacat)

§ 5

- A₂ Obv. 25. [... *wa-a*]-^rhi^r KAŠ GEŠTIN *da-a-i*
 A₂ Obv. 26. [...]x A-NA^{GIS}BANŠUR *pé-ra-an kat+ta*
 A₂ Obv. 27. [...] ^rA^r-NA^{GIS}BANŠUR AD.KID
 A₂ Obv. 28. [... *nu-uš-š*]a-an *pa-ab-hur šu-uh-ha-a-i*
 A₂ Obv. 29. [...] ^rnu^r *ša-me-ši-i-e-et-ta*

§ 6

- A₂ Obv. 30. [...] ^rna^r-aš-kán^{GIS}BANŠUR-i
 A₂ Obv. 31. [...]x-uz-zi
 A₂ Obv. 32. [...]x-^rkán^r-za
 A₂ Obv. 33. [... *ka*]-a-ša
 A₂ Obv. 34. [...]x
 A₂ Obv. 35. [...]x
 A₂ Obv. 36. [...] (vacat)
 A₂ Obv. 37. [...] (vacat)

§ 7

- A₂ Obv. 38. [... ^{GIS}GE]ŠTIN HÁD.DU.A
 A₂ Obv. 39. [...] DA x x

§ 8'

- A₂ Rev. 1'. [...] *r*ar-ha¹
 A₂ Rev. 2'. [...] *m*u-ke-eš-šar kar-ap-ta-ri
 A₂ Rev. 3'. [...]x da-aš-ke-er
 A₂ Rev. 4'. [...] *pé*]-eš-ši-i-e-ez-zi
 A₂ Rev. 5'. [...] ^{NA4}pa-aš-ši-la-aš
 A₂ Rev. 6'. [...] (vacat)

§ 9'

- A₂ Rev. 7'. [...]x ki-an-ta-ri
 A₂ Rev. 8'. [...] *r*A¹-NA 9 NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ še-er da-a-i
 A₂ Rev. 9'. [...] *l*N-BI^{HA}
 A₂ Rev. 10'. [...] nu-uš-š]i šu-up-pí É.^rŠA¹-ni
 A₂ Rev. 11'. [...] *w*]a-al-hi ku-it-t[a]
 A₂ Rev. 12'. [...] *r*ka-a-ša-at-ta¹ *r*mu-ga-u-en¹ tal-li-*r*e¹-[u-e]n
 A₂ Rev. 13'. [...] nu-kán² A-NA EN SÍ]SKUR an-da aš-šu-li ne-iš-hu-ut
 A₂ Rev. 14'. [...]x
 A₂ Rev. 15'. [...] (vacat)

§ 10'

- A₂ Rev. 16'. [...] *m*]a-a-an GU₄ ma-a-an UDU ^{NINDA}a-a-an-na
 A₂ Rev. 17'. [...]x nam-ma-kán me-mi-ya-nu-uš
 A₂ Rev. 18'. [...]x-zi
 A₂ Rev. 19'. [...] (vacat)

§ 11'

- A₂ Rev. 20'. [...] x x x [...] x x [...] x x [...]
 A₂ Rev. 21'. [...] š]A DINGIR-LIM pár-hu-i-na-*r*aš¹ ga-la-ak-ta[r]
 A₂ Rev. 22'. [...] *k*]u-wa-pí iš-hu-wa-a-an
 A₂ Rev. 23'. [...] *p*]é-da-an-zi {x}
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 24'. *r*na¹-x[...] (vacat)

§ 12'

- A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 25'. na-aš-[ta ... ^{GIS}GEŠTIN H]ÁD.DU.A ^{GIS}SE₂₀-ER-TUM ^{GIS}ša-ma-ma
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 26'. ^{GIS}ha-[ši-ig-ga ...]x ^{SIG}e-eš-ri an-da hu-u-la-li-an-zi
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 27'. nu-kán x[...] nu-uš-š]a-an še-er ĩ.DÜG.GA la-a-hu-i
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 28'. nam-ma x[...] na-aš-ta aš-šu-li¹(UL) an-da
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 29'. QA^(over eras.)-TAM-MA-p[át ...] (vacat)

§ 13'

- A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 30'. (vacat) [UM-MA ^fZa-ar-o-o-ya ...-t]a²-li [m]a-a-na-aš-ta
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 31'. (vacat) [ak-kán^{an}-za ku-e-da-n]i ar-ha [ta]l-li-ya-an-za
 A₁₍₊₂₎ Rev. 32'. (vacat) [... na-an EGIR-pa m]u-ga-a-mi QA-TI

§ 1: Thus (speaks) Za[r-...-y]a. If a deceased (is) draw[n] away from someone, I entreat (and) send [him] back. I do the following: I take [... one] wickerwork [tabl]e, one wickerwork *tabupazzi-*, ten soldier bread loaves separated (into) twenty (bits), thirty-six thick bread loaves, [n *soldier-bread*

loaves] wrapped together, *parhuena-* of the deity, *galaktar-*plant, beer wort, malt, [fig(s)], dried [ra]isins, olive(s), *šamama-*, *hašigga-*, [a bit] of each, [...] sour [*bread*], every kind of sour *parša-*bread, a small cheese, *ša[hi-, happuriy]a-*, GI.DÜG.GA-spice, half a handful of each, one large jug, [pebbles ...], tree branches (and) *hawthorn*.

§ 2: [... one j]jug of *tawal-*beer, one jug of *walhi-*beer, two *kureššar-*headdresses, [...] a filled ceramic [cu]p, one piece of reed. On (it) red wool [...], a wool-tuft of [a sh]eep.

§ 3: [...] has drawn away [...]. If he [...] that person (acc.), the one who goes (and) [...] seizes a sheep [...] for the ritual [...] it, [... the pe]rson has drawn away [...] ha[s] drawn away [...] from someone [... t]akes/puts. The way he [...].

§ 4: She [put]s [...]. On top, she puts nine loaves of soldier-bread. [... the *parhuena-* of the deity, the *ga*]laktar-plant, the beer wort, the malt, the fig(s), [...] the fleece of the sheep, a sour bread loaf, [...]. She also takes one *kureššar-*headdress. [...] the *happuriya-*, the GI.DÜG.GA-spice, [...].

§ 5: She takes [... the *wa*]lhi-beer, beer (and) wine [...] down before the table [...] to the wickerwork table [...]. She pours embers on top. [...] It burns in fumigation.

§§ 6–8' are too fragmentary to be translated

§ 9': [...] lie. [...] She puts [...] on the nine soldier-bread loaves. [... f]ruits. [...] in his/her sacred bedroom [... *w*]alhi-beer eac[h ... and she says]: “Hereby, we have entreated (and) drawn you [...]. Turn in favour [of the ri]tual [patron]!” [...]

§ 10': [... e]ither a bovid or a sheep and also warm bread [...]. Then the words (acc.) [...].

§ 11': [...] the *parhuina-* [o]f the deity, the *galakta[r]-*plant [... w]here (it is) scattered [...] they [c]arry [...].

§ 12': [...] the [d]ried [raisins], the olive(s), the *šamama-*, the *ha[šigga-*, ...]. They wrap the fleece around [...]. She pours fine oil on top. Then [...]. in favour likewise [...].

§ 13': [Thus (speaks) Zar-...-ya ...]. [I]f [a deceased] (is) [d]rawn away f[rom someone, ...], I [e]ntreat [him back]. Finished.

Excerpt 15: KUB 22.35 iii 5'–7' (CTH 569.II.1: Oracle about Arma-Tarhunta and Šaušgatti, NS; van den Hout 1995: 190–191 and Cognetti 2021: 143)

GIDIM=*ya* SUD=*anzi* [*nu=za* ^D]UTU-ŠI ANA GIDIM IGI=*anda* ^{SISKUR}*mantalliyanza* BAL=*anti*

“They draw **the dead**, [so that] My Sun may perform a *mantalli-*sacrificial ritual against **the dead**.”

Excerpt 16: KUB 30.26 i 1–4; iv 6'–8' (CTH 783.1: “Medical” ritual of Zelliya, NS; Cognetti 2021: 171–173)

UMMA ¹Zelliya LÚ ^{URU}Kurkanza mān UN=*an* ^DIšharaz GIG=*zi n=aš išharišhari namma=aš aki* ^{LÚ}MUZA=*ŠU=ma=(š)ši ANA NINDA KAŠ anda ueriyanza ēšta nu akkanti* EGIR=*anda kiššan iyami dahhi=ma kī (...)* *nu mahhan kī u[ddār ...] nu GIDIM arabza pē[đai ...] n=*an arha warnum[i ...]**

“Thus (speaks) Zelliya, man of the city of Kurkanza. If a person falls ill by (the hand of) Išhara, so that he/she gets the Išhara-disease and then **he/she dies**, his/her spouse has been assigned to (give)

him/her bread (and) beer. Afterward, I do the following for **the deceased**. I take this. (...) As [... utters] these w[ords], he/she br[ings] **the dead** outside [...], so that I burn him/her completely [...].”

Excerpt 17: KBo 23.19:7' (CTH 487.5: Ritual with the mention of Išhara, NS; Görke and Melzer 2015: § 2')

[... AN]A GIDI[M] *adanna pehhi*

“I give (something) to eat to **the dead**.”

Excerpt 18: KBo 11.1 Rev. 9'–11' (CTH 382: Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god of Kummanni, NS; Rieken et al. 2016: and Cognetti 2021: 182–183 fn. 543)

mān=za HUL-za=ma MUŠEN-az L^UMUŠEN.DÙ-it našma ŠA GIDIM kuiški NINDA-an [papraet ...] kinun=ma kāša apūn MUŠEN iēr n=an arha lāer kē=ma [...] *apūn ŠA GIDIM NINDA-an parkunuer*

“If someone [has defiled] the bread of **the dead** (either) through an evil bird or through an augur, [...], now hereby they have ritually treated that bird and then they have released it. These [...] have purified that bread of **the dead**.”

Excerpt 19: KBo 5.2 i 1–9 (CTH 471: Ritual of Ammihatna of Kizzuwatna against impurity, NS; Strauss 2006: 220 and Cognetti 2021: 183)

UMMA ¹Ammihatna L^USANGA ŠA ^DIšhāra L^U URU Kizzuwatna § mān antuwahhaš šuppiš nu=(š)ši NINDA-an maršan kuiški adanna pāi našma=(š)ši ^{UZU} maršan adanna pāi NINDA-an ^{UZU} alwanzabhan kuiški adanna pāi § našma=(š)ši ŠA É.NA₄ NINDA-an ^{UZU} kuiški adanna pāi našma=(š)ši ŠA MUNUS tuēkki=(š) ši ššhar akuwanna pāi nu kī sŠSKUR šipandahhi

“Thus (speaks) Ammihatna, priest of Išhāra, man of Kizzuwatna. If a person (is) consecrated (but) someone gives him bread (which is) unfit for the sacred to eat or (if) he gives him fat (which is) unfit for the sacred to eat or (if) someone gives him bewitched bread (or) fat to eat, § or (if) someone gives him bread (or) fat of **the stone-house** to eat, or (if) he gives him blood of a woman to drink, I perform this sacrificial ritual.”

Excerpt 20: KBo 44.47:7'–8' (CTH 470.1157: Fragment of a ritual text, NS; Roszkowska-Mutschler 2007: 41–42 and Cognetti 2021: 152)

[...] *āpit[i GAM-a]nta 3=ŠU ŠUM GI[DIM ...] āpitī GAM-anta hūkanzi*

“[...] *they* pronounce] the name of **the dec[eased]** three times [tow]ard the *āpi*-pit [belo]w [...] they slaughter [...] in the *āpi*-pit below.”

Excerpt 21: KUB 18.16 ii 1–6 (CTH 582: Fragment of oracular report, NS; Cognetti 2021: 115)

L^UA.İL=wa NU.GÁL nu=w[a G]IDIM^{MES} INA É.DU₁₀.ŪS.SA UL pē harkanzi ^{UZU}HAGGURADU=wa ^{UZU}ŠALITUM GA NINDA.GIBIL^{MES}=ya kās MU.3.KAM kuit=at karšanteš EZEN₄ GA RA-naš EZEN₄ šeliaš=(š)a kās MU.3.KAM kuit=at karšanteš GIDIM^{MES}=za kēdaš waškuwaš šer TUKU-uanteš nu MUŠEN HURRI NU.SIG₅-du NU.SIG₅

“There is no water carrier, so they do not bring the [**d**]ead to the bathhouse. *HAGGURATUM*, after-birth, milk and new loaves of bread: this (is) the third year that they (are) cut. The festival of beating milk and the festival of harvest: this (is) the third year that they (are) cut. Are you, **the dead**, angry because of these faults? (If it is the case), may the *HURRI* birds be unfavorable. (They are) unfavorable.”

Excerpt 22: KUB 42.94 (A₁) + HHT 80 (A₂) iv² 9'–15' w. par. IBoT 3.147:4'–7' (par. to A₁₊₂ iv² 9'–12'), Bo 3367 ii 4'–8' (par. to A₁₊₂ iv² 9'–12'), KUB 7.10 i 1–12 (par. to A₁₊₂ iv² 10'–16'), KBo 22.112 l.col. 1'–7' (par. to A₁₊₂ iv² 10'–13') and KUB 43.42:1'–10' (par. to A₁₊₂ iv² 12'–15') (CTH 448.4.1: Ritual for the Sun-goddess of the earth, NS; Taracha 2000: 50 and Cognetti 2021: 50)

A₁₊₂ iv² 9'. nu DINGIR-LUM ku-iš {KI} A-NA [o o o]- ṛšú-uš^ṛ(-)[...]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 10'. ka-a-ša-wa a-pé-e-da-[aš o]x-aš kat-^rta-an^r k[a-ru-ú ku-u-uš]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 11'. tar-pal-li-iš a-ra-a[n-ē]a-ri nu-wa-za ku-u-u[š še-e-ek-tén]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 12'. LUGAL-un-ma-wa-za le-e še-ek-te-e-ni AŠ-RU-w[a-kán ka-ru-ú]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 13'. an-da ku-un-ga-an ma-^ra^r-an-kán ták-na-aš-ma ^DUT[U-i HUL-lu]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 14'. KA_xU-za ú-iz-zi pé-[e-d]i-ma ku-it-ki ka[p-pu-u-iz-zi]
 A₁₊₂ iv² 15'. tar-pal-li-uš-ma ha-an-[na-aš hu-ub-h]a-aš pa-ra-^ra^r [ti-ya-an-du]
 “The deity who [...] to [...]. ‘Here, [those] substitutes are al[ready] standing with thes[e ...]. [Take (pl.) note of] thos[e] but do no (longer) take note of the king! The place (is) [already] tidied up. If [something bad] comes out of the mouth [to] the Sun-goddess of the earth and [she] no[tices] something in (this) place, may the substitutes [stand] before the **grandmo[thers (and) gran]dfathers!**’”

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FROM KIZZUWATNA TO ḪATTUŠA: HOW GODS WERE ADOPTED INTO THE HITTITE STATE CULT

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Abstract

When different cultures come into contact, interactions between the respective religions and cultic practices may also occur, which can result in the attempt to equalize deities belonging to the respective cultural milieus. During the reorganization of the Hittite religious system by the royal family with the creation of the so-called “Dynastic Pantheon” in a Hurrian sense, several gods with Kizzuwatnean origins started to play an important new role in Ḫattuša. This paper offers an in-depth analysis of some gods of the Hurrian-Luwian context of Kizzuwatna, which were imported into the Hittite state cult.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the term ‘Kizzuwatna’, modern scholarship identifies both a geographical region of Anatolia and a historical kingdom of the Late Bronze Age.¹ Geographically speaking, the toponyms of the land of Kizzuwatna and the city of Kummani could be used alternatively in the New Hittite period, while referring to a specific single entity.² In contrast, from a linguistic and religious perspective, Kizzuwatna appears to be a melting pot of different cultural traditions: from the western Luwian to the eastern Syro-Hurrian interfaces.³ Indeed, according to Gary Beckman (2004: 315) the religious features of Kizzuwatna “are basically Hurrian in character, with a significant Luwian admixture”. In particular, the scholarship has been focused on what we mean by a ‘mixed’ area in defining the Kizzuwatnean context, a question that depends on whether we consider languages (spoken or written)⁴ or cultural elements (e.g., religion),⁵ as well as their transmission.⁶

¹ See Kümmel 1976/80: 627–631; Yakubovich 2010: 272–285; Trameri 2020; Görke 2022: 148.

² See for instance KUB 7.20 // KBo 9.115 I 1–2 (Trameri 2020: 420). Kummani (RGTC 6: 221; 6/2: 83), later *Comana Cappadociae*, is presumed to be the capital (< Luwian *kumma-* ‘pure, sacred’, CLL: 108, so “holy city”) of the land of Kizzuwatna (RGTC 6: 211–215; 6/2: 81). See Trémouille 1997: 58; Hawkins – Weeden 2017: 281; Trameri 2020: 62–65; and Kryszyn in the present volume. On the possible etymology of the toponym Kizzuwatna see Yakubovich 2010: 274 and Trameri 2020: 30–32.

³ Gurney 1977: 16; Hutter 2003: 213–214; Yakubovich 2010: 86–117, 239–245, 274; Görke 2022: 148–149.

⁴ See Yakubovich 2010: 284–285, 302.

⁵ The question is of course even more complicated because of the lack of proper Kizzuwatnean textual evidence: as long as local written sources are missing, we have only some pieces of evidence which refer mainly to the Hittite point of view. See, for instance, Yakubovich 2010: 276–277 with reference.

⁶ Trameri 2020: 327–343.

Although the issue is far from being completely resolved, this paper considers the adoption of the Kizzuwatnean gods⁷ into Ḫattuša following the historical incorporation or integration of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite kingdom.⁸ The question depends first on which Kizzuwatnean deities can be identified as integrated in Ḫattuša, and then on the ways those gods were actually adopted.

2. LIMITS AND GODS

According to Andrea Trameri, “there is evidence that at least to some extent Tudḫaliya I was actively promoting the import of Kizzuwatnean cults and that he was, presumably, the first Hittite king to do so”.⁹ The discussion is far from concluded because such an early dating is hard to prove. The importation certainly happened in the Early New Kingdom’s dynasty (Tudḫaliya II/III and probably Arnuwanda), because we know that Hittites “were always willing to adopt religious elements from neighboring people” (Campbell 2016: 295).¹⁰ In fact, the reasons behind these adoptions are multiple, like political and ideological changes among elites, as we will see later (§ 3). The first question that must be considered consists of defining the Kizzuwatnean traits in general, and specifically the divine ones, that were imported to Ḫattuša. In this paper the Luwian component will be excluded for the following reasons: first, because the status of Luwian in Kizzuwatna seems to be in a minority compared to Hurrian;¹¹ second, because the dialectal continuum does not allow us to easily and completely discern Kizzuwatnean Luwian from the Lower Land Luwian;¹² third, and most importantly, because most of the Luwian deities who entered Ḫattuša may have followed different routes (e.g., from the Lower Land¹³), rather than coming via Kizzuwatna.

These distinctions also reflect the status of Luwian and Hurrian in Kizzuwatna: while the first was probably mostly a spoken language, the latter was seen as an important written

⁷ Particularly from the local cults of the cities of Kummani, Lawazantiya, Iṣtanuwa, and Ḫattarina. See Beckman 2004: 313–315.

⁸ I deliberately avoid any discussion on the ‘integration’, ‘conquest’, ‘annexation’, or even ‘liberation’ (Yakubovich 2010: 276) of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite kingdom. See Gilan 2019: 179–180; Campbell 2016: 297; Trameri 2020: 422–430. The strategic location of Kizzuwatna as the gateway between Anatolian and Syrian lands reflected the political role played by Kizzuwatna between the 15th and the 14th century BC as a buffer-state between the kingdoms of Ḫatti and Mittani.

⁹ Trameri 2020: 412 with reference.

¹⁰ This Hittite manner of facing the different encountered cultures is the basis of the creation of that divine melting pot of the ‘Thousand Gods of Ḫatti’, the peculiar structure of which cannot be considered merely a pantheon, but reflects religious interferences mingled for centuries. See Taracha 2010: 858; Warbinek 2023a: 11–12.

¹¹ Hutter 2021: 141: “Die hurritischen Elemente scheinen dabei etwas stärker ausgeprägt gewesen zu sein als die luwischen”. See also Gilan 2019: 179–180; Görke 2022: 150.

¹² Yakubovich 2023: 288–289. See also Mouton–Yakubovich 2021; Mouton–Yakubovich 2023.

¹³ According to Hutter (2003: 213–214), the Lower Land was one of the three different Anatolian “Luwian zones”, with Arzawa and Kizzuwatna, where Luwian culture, i.e., language and religion, spread. While Arzawa was historically more independent and less influenced by Hittites, the Lower Land was part of the Hittite Kingdom and therefore can be considered a mixed Hittite–Luwian area. See also Warbinek 2023a: 13.

language for recording cultic and religious practice.¹⁴ This has undoubtedly been accentuated by the increasing Hurrian influence in Ḫattuša due to dynastic needs: starting from Tudḫaliya I, continuing with Puduḫepa's interventions under the reign of Ḫattušili III, up to the so-called 're-organisation'¹⁵ of the cults by Tudḫaliya IV. Taking all these aspects into consideration, we may infer that the Luwian divine elements in Kizzuwatna were less pronounced than the Hurrian ones, and therefore it seems more fruitful to follow the latter route.

Once the Hurrian focus has been established, another methodological question arises, which concerns the choice of imported deities in relation to the available cuneiform evidence. Since the major Hurrian gods (i.e., Teššub, Ḫebat, Šawuška, Išḫara) have already been thoroughly investigated in the scholarship, they have been left out of this discussion, which instead focuses on those minor gods about whom the research is still lacking.

As we are considering minor gods from Kizzuwatna, their selection primarily concerns treaties, festivals, and rituals related to that area. Regarding the divine witnesses in the last paragraphs of the treaties between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna,¹⁶ it would have been extremely interesting to analyse how certain Kizzuwatnean gods reached the Hittite capital alongside the historical and mutual evolution in relations¹⁷ between the two countries. Unfortunately, among those treaties¹⁸ none retained the divine witnesses with the sole exception of the one between Tudḫaliya I and Šunaššura (CTH 41) where, however, we find only major – and generically mentioned – gods (e.g., the 'gods of the country of Kizzuwatna', the 'Stormgod of Ḫatti', without any specific denomination).¹⁹ Therefore, we have to move the focus to the largely Hurrianized Kizzuwatnean festivals (CTH 628, 698–706)²⁰ and to those rituals recorded in Ḫattuša but derived from Kizzuwatnean traditions.²¹ In particular, "the flow of ritual texts from Kizzuwatna has been extensively studied in recent years, both from religious-historical as well as from sociolinguistic, textual, redactional and archival perspectives. These studies provide an excellent vantage point to explore the modes and mechanisms of religious convergence in Hittite Anatolia" (Gilan 2019: 173).

¹⁴ Yakubovich 2010: 272–285; Gilan 2019: 183; Trameri 2020: 327–336.

¹⁵ Goetze (1933: 159–160 with note 1) first suggested the idea of a 'Kultreorganisation', which has been reinterpreted as 'réforme religieuse' by Laroche (1975). Today, however, scholars prefer to see a restoration of the cult, rather than a whole innovation, thanks to the administrative scope of the Tudḫaliya IV's textual evidence. See Collins 2007: 177; Taracha 2009: 133; Cammarosano 2018: 22–27; Hutter 2021: 30–31, 193–194, 201, 236.

¹⁶ See Görke 2022: 148 with reference.

¹⁷ Gilan 2019: 179–180.

¹⁸ CTHs 21, 25, 26, 29, 41, 122, 132. See Devecchi 2015: 63–92.

¹⁹ See Devecchi 2015: 78. Of course, Kizzuwatna signed also treaties in directions different to the route to Ḫattuša here at the centre of the discussion for divine adoptions. For instance, see the treaty between Piliya of Kizzuwatna and Idrimi of Alalah (ALT 6), where the divine witnesses are the Storm-god, the Sun-god, Išḫara, and "all the (remaining/other) gods", see Trameri 2020: 298–307.

²⁰ See Trémouille 1997: 102–119; Trameri 2020: 323; Campbell 2016: 298; Gilan 2019: 180; Hutter 2021: 169 with n. 181. In particular, Collins (2007: 163): "One major yearly festival, however, was introduced from Kizzuwatna, where Hurrian beliefs and practices were most strongly felt. The nine-day-long *hisuwat* festival was not season-dependent and was performed to honor the Storm-God of Manuzziya (a mountain in Kizzuwatna) and his circle. Eagles, which were sacred to this deity, played a prominent role in the festival and may have given it its name. It included a ceremony for the military success of the king".

²¹ See Miller 2004; Trameri 2020: 413–421.

Nonetheless, the divine recurrence we can infer from these texts is not so decisive, because most of the recurring gods are those related to the *kaluti* lists of Teššub and Ḫebat,²² and the introduction of their cults was associated with a new ideology of kingship in the royal family of the New Kingdom. In such a context it is therefore not surprising to find references to gods like Išhara, Ištar, Nikkal and Šawuška, which can contribute little towards the evaluation of the adoption of Kizzuwatnean gods in Ḫattuša. Nevertheless, among those gods adopted via Kizzuwatna some came from elsewhere, e.g., the pantheons of Yamḥad or Aleppo, thus providing evidence that the dynastic pantheon also included deities of a Syrian substrate (like Išhara).

Finally, the goddess DINGIR.GE₆ represents an exceptional case in this scenario, which is the reason why this deity has been thoroughly studied,²³ and here will be extremely useful as a litmus test for any comparison in the conclusive remarks.

3. CASE STUDIES

Notwithstanding the limits we have just identified, it is possible to gather some minor deities in texts of Hurrian content, which can offer some interesting insight (Table 1):

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Authors/Content</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Deities</i>	<i>Order</i>
CTH 475	Ritual of King Pilliya	Installation of a cult statue	^D U ^D matina ^D ḫazzizi	e
CTH 479	Ritual of Kizzuwatna	Purification	Ḫilaššiti	c
CTH 479.3	Festival in Šapinuwa (?)	Cultic	Tašimeti/Tašimi	d
CTH 480.2	Ritual of Šamuḫa	Cultic	Pirinkir, Ištar ‘of the field’, DINGIR ^{MEŠ} Aleppo	f
CTH 485	Ritual for Teššub, Ḫebat, Šarruma	Evocation	Tiyabenti, Tenu	b
CTH 494	Ritual for NIN.GAL	Purification	Zedu, Širinna, Alwil, Kade, Maḫitti, Agaššari	a

The gods featured in the document listed in Table 1 will be presented here according to a thematic order relating to the scope of this paper.

a. Starting from the very end, in the purification ritual for NIN.GAL we find the following deities unknown elsewhere:²⁴ Alwil (KUB 45.47 iii 6, iv 16),²⁵ Agaššari (KUB 45.47 iii 6, iv 17),²⁶ Kade (KUB 45.47 iii 8),²⁷ Maḫitti (KUB 45.47 iii 8, iv 17; KBo 33.107

²² Trémouille 1997: 201–210; Taracha 2009: 102; Warbinek 2023b: 186 with nn. 32–35.

²³ Particularly, Miller 2004.

²⁴ See Haas 1994: 376, 574.

²⁵ Haas 1994: 376; van Gessel 1998: 25–26.

²⁶ Haas 1994: 376; van Gessel 1998: 8–9.

²⁷ Haas 1994: 376 with n. 480; van Gessel 1998: 238.

obv. 11),²⁸ Širinna (KUB 45.47 iii 4, iv 16);²⁹ Zedu (KUB 45.47 iii 3, iv 15).³⁰ Pending the conformation or refutation of the following statement, we can infer that these gods entered Ḫattuša thanks to the imported ritual tradition. Therefore, they are probably only local minor Hurro-Kizzuwatnean gods, but they represent an instance of how local cults spread by participating in the worship of a major deity, here NIN.GAL.

b. On the other hand, the evocation ritual CTH 485³¹ preserves the deities Tiyabenti³² and Tenu,³³ which are part of “le concept kizzuwatnéen des *kaluti*”.³⁴ Tiyabenti is considered to be the vizir or priest (^USUKKAL) of Ḫebat,³⁵ whereas Tenu is Teššub’s.³⁶ Therefore, this text provides a piece of evidence for the transmission of foreign gods in the Hittite capital through the Kizzuwatna tradition, in association with the Hurrian *kaluti* circles.

c. The case of Ḫilaššiti, which is attested twice in the 12th tablet of the Purification Ritual CTH 479 where the ritual operations between the 16th and the 23rd day are described, seems to be similar:

KUB 30.31++ iii 37, iv 25³⁷

(37) ^DḪi-la-aš-ši-ti-ma ma-a-an u-zi-an-za iš-T[U

(25) ^DḪi-la-aš-ši-ti-ya ma-a-an še-ḫé-el-[i-iš-k]i-i-š e-eš-zi

As well as for the god Ḫilanzepa, the Anatolian first element is *ḫīla(n)* ‘courtyard’ in all likelihood the core part of the temple,³⁸ followed by the Luwian genitival suffix *-šši/a* and with another element *-ti* (adj., gen. sg.).³⁹ Indeed, in most cases, the theonym is Ḫilašši, a Luwian deity involved in several festivals recorded in Ḫattuša.⁴⁰ In particular, the present purification ritual from Kizzuwatna mentions Ḫilaššiti in a fully Hurrian context of offerings related to the *kaluti* lists of Teššub and Ḫebat. The importation to Ḫattuša can be explained by considering Ḫilaššiti a possible local Kizzuwatnean manifestation of Ḫilašši, who entered the Hittite capital together with the Hurrian gods listed.

²⁸ Haas 1994: 376 with n. 481, 399–400; van Gessel 1998: 294.

²⁹ Haas 1994: 376; van Gessel 1998: 404–405.

³⁰ Haas 1994: 376; van Gessel 1998: 580.

³¹ Haas 1998: 106–127.

³² Haas 1994: 309–310, who returns *tiye=bendi* “Gutes sprechend” as a “huritische Fürbittergottheit”; Trémouille 1997: 207–210; van Gessel 1998: 512–515.

³³ Haas 1994: 332; van Gessel 1998: 480–481.

³⁴ Trémouille 1997: 91 with n. 132, and similarly at p. 142.

³⁵ Laroche 1946: 62; Trémouille 1997: 91, 142, 194 *passim*; van Gessel 1998: 514–515.

³⁶ Laroche 1946: 61; Trémouille 1997: 98, 142, 160, 210; van Gessel 1998: 481.

³⁷ See: Ünal (ed.), hethiter.net/:CTH 479.2.1 (INTR 2017–02–23): “Wenn dem Ḫilaššiti aber [...] *uzianza* vo[m ...] / Wenn aber für den Gott Ḫilašši *šehelli[iški]* existiert”.

³⁸ See Haas 1972/75: 409; Haas 1994: 133, 259, 281; Warbinek 2022: 4, 10 with references. According to Kloekhorst (2008: 343) the element *ḫīla-* admits no satisfactory etymology in any Indo-European language of the area. From a morphological point of view, because the Akkadian *ḫilani* is in all likelihood non-Semitic, it is impossible to identify the language of origin of the morph, which may have been present, and virtually identical, in Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic.

³⁹ See Starke 1990: 188; Melchert 1993: 68, 226. Differently, Haas 1972/75: 409; Haas 1994: 281, 299.

⁴⁰ Haas 1994: 281–282; Popko 1995: 73; van Gessel 1998: 150–152.

d. The next case I would like to highlight concerns CTH 479.3,⁴¹ where the offering lists reported two Tašimeti, as well as two Šarruma:

KBo 8.82(+) obv.² 4': [... *ša-ša-nu-uš ZA*]BAR *A-NA* 2 ^D*Te-šši-me*[-ti ...]
 KBo 38.260+21.37 rev.² 12'/15': nu *A-NA* 2 ^D*Šar-ru-u-ma* 2 SILA₄^{HL.A} *ke-e[l-di-ia]*

Tašimeti (or Tašimi/Tešimit)⁴² was most likely a Hattian spring-goddess and a concubine of the Stormgod of Nerik,⁴³ whereas Šarruma was possibly a Kizzuwatnaean mountain god⁴⁴ only secondarily ‘Hurrianized’ as the son of the royal couple Teššub and Ḫebat, and then syncretized with the Anatolian Telepinu. In the passages quoted above, there are two elements of particular interest: on the one hand, the indication of “two gods” both for Tašimeti and Šarruma. If for Tašimeti one may infer the possibility of two Hattian spring-goddesses as ‘nymphs’,⁴⁵ it is difficult to propose the same for Šarruma, unless one takes into account the reference to the two Šarrumanni,⁴⁶ Šarruma’s hypostasis connected with Ḫebat, which strengthen the interconnections between the Hurrian milieu, the Kizzuwatna land and the Hittite capital. On the other hand, the presence of the Hattian Tašimeti in the Ritual of Kizzuwatna itself sounds odd: a possible explanation refers to the identification of the Hattian goddess as a form of Ištar⁴⁷ and in that guise she may possibly have entered the Kizzuwatnaean cult.

e. Another interesting case is that of king Piliya’s ritual,⁴⁸ which reports several epithets and hypostases of the Stormgod, like Teššub *gimra-* or Teššub *edimašši*, as well as ^{DU} ^{DU}*mātina* ^D*hazzizi* which, despite the others, present the divine determinatives:

KBo 44.98++ ii 9–15⁴⁹
 (9) 1 SILA₄-^r*ya*¹ *I-N*[A ^{HUR.SA}]^G*Kal-za-t[a-a²-p]a pé-en-ni-an-zi*
 (10) *A-NA* ^{DU} ^r*gi*¹[-im-r]a²-^r*aš*² 1 SILA₄ *A-NA* ^{DU}
 (11) *e-di-ma-aš-ši*[-*ya*² 1 SIL]_{A₄} *A-NA* ^{DU} ^D*ma-a-ti-n*[a]
 (12) ^D^r*ha*¹-*az-zi-i*[*z-zi* ... *x-š*]^a *hé-ru-ḫe-e-na*
 (13) [1] AMAR *za-x*[- ... -*y*]^a *A-NA* ^{DU} *at-ta-aš-ša*
 (14) [*A*]-*NA* DINGIR.^rMES²¹[LÚ.MES² *A-N*]*A* ^{DU} ^D*Hal-ki* ^{DÉ.A}
 (15) [*A-N*]*A* [^D*Hu-t*]-*e-e-na* ^D^r*Hu*¹-*te-el-lu-u-ur-ra*

“And they drive one lamb off to Mt. Kalzatapa⁵⁰ (and offer it there) to the Storm-god of the Countryside(?). (Further they offer) one lamb for the *edimašši* of the Storm-god, [one lamb]

⁴¹ See: Ünal (ed.), [hethiter.net/CTH 479.3](http://hethiter.net/CTH_479.3) (2017sqq.).

⁴² Van Gessel 1998: 455–458, 481–482; Taracha 2009: 56.

⁴³ Haas 1994: 447; Popko 1995: 73, 146–147; Klinger 1996: 173; Taracha 2009: 56, 104.

⁴⁴ De Martino 2023: 94. See also Haas 1994: 387, 462, 472.

⁴⁵ Another explanation might concern the possibility that the two gods are the divine dyad Tašammat-Tešimmeti (see Haas 1994: 245), but the broken tablet does not permit any further speculation and, again, this solution cannot be applied to Šarruma.

⁴⁶ Haas 1994: 472.

⁴⁷ Popko 1995: 73; Taracha 2009: 56.

⁴⁸ Beckman 2013.

⁴⁹ Beckman 2013: 128.

⁵⁰ *Hapax*. It is not clear whether it has to be considered a Kizzuwatnaean mountain or a mountain added later by Hittite scribes. See Beckman 2013: 141.

to the divine wisdom and intelligence of the Storm-god, [. . .], *herubena*, [one] calf . . . to the Storm-god of the Fathers, to the [male(?)] deities, to the Storm-god, the Grain-god, Ea, [to] the Fate Deities” (Beckman 2013: 138).

Indeed, Mati and Hazzizi are the divine intelligence and wisdom, actually Ea’s hypostases in Mesopotamia.⁵¹ However, this text seems to report two proper gods, both deriving from the Hurrian Mesopotamian milieu, which entered Hattuša via Kizzuwatna. During this process of adoption they apparently lost their status as Ea’s hypostases and became the Stormgod’s fellows.

f. The Ritual of Šamuḫa CTH 480.2 describes, instead, the better-known deity Pirinkir⁵² ready to receive an unknown offering:

KBo 34.72 obv. 13: *nu PA-NI D^oPi-ri-in-ki-ri-ya 1 ša-...*

The ritual continues with offerings for Ištar ‘of the Field’ (*ANA D^oIŠTAR ŠĒRI*, KBo 24.48 ii 6’) and for the Male Gods of Aleppo (*DINGIR^{MEŠ} LU^{MEŠ} URU^oHalap*, KBo 24.48 ii 9’), thus providing a piece of evidence for a Syro-Hurrian contextualization of the worshipped deities. This context also fits well for Pirinkir because this deity has been recognized by Gary Beckman (1999) as a type of Ištar, Lady of the Country, whose name probably originated from the Sumerian *PIRIG₃.GAL* ‘Great Feline’ and was borrowed by both the Elamites (as *Bine(n)gir*) and the Hurrians (as *Pirinkar*).⁵³ In his thematic study, Gary Beckman noted that in CTH 481, concerning the ‘installation’ of *DINGIR.GE₆*, Pirinkir receives offerings “upon the roof of the temple immediately after the Goddess of the Night has been presented with the same sacrifice within the building”⁵⁴ while in her ritual CTH 644 “once again the worship of Pirinkir takes place upon the roof”.⁵⁵

Once these gods have been presented, together with their main features, two main questions arise: the question of how those deities were adopted in Hattuša, and why they were chosen by the Hittites.

4. HOW: MODES OF INTEGRATION

The structure of the Hittite religious system is well suited to the name Hittites gave to it: the Thousand Gods of Hatti.⁵⁶ Within this system the trend was “thus to accommodate deities from other cultures”⁵⁷ because the Hittite religious tendency was not syncretic, but rather assimilatory:⁵⁸

⁵¹ Laroche 1946: 47, 54; Haas 1994: 297 with n. 27, 312–313.

⁵² Haas 1994: 415–416.

⁵³ Beckman 1999: 27–29. See also Haas 1994: 415.

⁵⁴ Beckman 1999: 30 with reference to KUB 29.4 iii 1–7.

⁵⁵ See ‘roof’ *šubḫ-* in Beckman 1999: 33, 36–37 with reference to VBoT 1.28+ v 4’–5’.

⁵⁶ See Warbinek 2023a: 15.

⁵⁷ Rutherford 2020: 28.

⁵⁸ Archi 1993: 3, 6; Hutter 2003: 217; Campbell 2016: 300; Cammarosano 2018: 51; Rutherford 2020: 28. *Contra* the very syncretistic perspective of Gurney 1977: 18; Popko 1995: 117; Beckman 2004: 308b; 309b.

“The size of the Hittite pantheon may be attributed to a resistance to syncretism, since in general the Hittites tended not to identify their own gods with either foreign or native deities of a similar type, in the way, for example, that members of the Greek pantheon were identified with those of the Roman. Scribes brought a certain order to the system by grouping together local deities who showed a common character. For example, they designated all bringers of rain and thunder with the same Mesopotamian ideogram (U) indicating a storm-god. This system, however, renders it difficult to tell which deity is meant by the generic designation. [...] We know, however, that these gods were worshiped individually because they appear side by side in the texts as separate divinities. Where the original names of the gods do survive, it is often a result of the fact that the Hittites sometimes addressed them in the gods’ native tongue in an effort to please them” Collins (2007: 173).

There are several consequences of this model. First, of course, the number itself of the thousand-worshipped deities. Second, and most importantly for this purpose, the different approaches adopted by the Hittites to accommodate foreign gods. In the 66th *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* held in Mainz in 2022, Valerio Pisaniello and I proposed an integrated linguistic-theological model for classifying cultural interactions between panthea. We suggested the avoidance of the generic definition of ‘syncretisms’ for Anatolian gods under Hittite kingdom, for the reasons outlined above, and we proposed the use of the term ‘equation’ between Anatolian gods of different cultural milieus. Most importantly, our opinion is that any study of the modes of interactions⁵⁹ among gods should always include both the etymology of the related theonyms, the criteria of cult language in which a deity was addressed, and the contexts in which the deities are grouped, worshipped, and equated.⁶⁰ According to our proposed model, which integrates the theological and linguistic issues, those interactions can be summarized as follows:⁶¹

1. when one pantheon lacks gods that functionally correspond to a given deity of another interacting pantheon, the new deity enters the target pantheon. Generally, the divine name is borrowed, calqued, or built by periphrasis;
2. when two gods with partly overlapping functions occur, a hypostasis is created and the name is generally calqued or paraphrased;
3. there are two gods with fully overlapping functions. In this case, syncretism generally triggers a borrowing of the theonym, while the absorption of one of the deities usually produces a calque.

This scenario shows how gods of different cultures and pantheons can be equated according to religion and/or linguistics. In applying this model to the Kizzuwatna *quaestio*, we should always keep in mind that any deity “could become common in a new cultural milieu where she had no counterpart and it was common then for her to be venerated in this new ethnic environment under her old name” (Taracha 2010: 861), and, therefore, in dealing with Hurrian foreign deities the adoptions of these gods and their theonyms must all be considered to be cases of borrowing.

⁵⁹ Cf. Assmann 1996: 33–36; Rutherford 2020: 77.

⁶⁰ Goetze 1953: 263; Taracha 2009: 36; Taracha 2010: 859.

⁶¹ Warbinek–Pisaniello, forthcoming; see also Warbinek 2023a: 15–17.

Finally, the importation of Kizzuwatnean gods and their cults to Ḫattuša, even if we assume that the incorporation of Kizzuwatna was peaceful,⁶² should be considered an imposition from above, i.e., from the ruling dynasty and their members,⁶³ who wanted to take advantage of this religious policy for the reasons summarized below.

5. WHY: REASONS FOR ADOPTING

While the preference of the royal family for the Hurrian cult appears evident in the New Kingdom, the adoption and integration of Kizzuwatnean deities raise questions on the reasons why those deities were chosen. There is no consensus about the answer to this question, but plausible explanations are as follows.

First, an *ideological* purpose behind the adoption of Hurrian deities can be proposed as an instrument of legitimacy by the new ruling dynasty in Hurrian sense.⁶⁴ This was surely true for major Hurrian deities (i.e., Teššub, Ḫebat, etc.), however, “the sudden appearance of a large amount of Hurrian religious material at the Hittite capital does not mean that there was a sudden change in royal ideology. The new cultural ties to Kizzuwatna through the queens of the early New Kingdom provided a means for this material to become integrated into the lifestyle of the ruling elite. That the Hurrian texts did not completely overshadow the preexisting Hattian/Hittite/Luwian mixture from the early period is likely due to the only sporadic importation and development of Hurrian religious texts at Hattusa” (Campbell 2016: 300). This sporadic importation of Hurrian elements also concerned a whole range of minor deities, whose ideological importance is neither measurable nor reliable, but the fact that they have been included in the imported deities should be taken into account.

Second, there was probably a *political* purpose: the religious union of Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna – whose ruler was now a son of the Hittite king with the title of ‘Priest’ – would have reinforced the assimilation of Kizzuwatna as a part of the empire, hiding the military conquest.⁶⁵ To reinforce both the ideological and political purposes, it is important to note that the Hurrian *kaluti* elements, as well as the ideology of kingship, go back to the traditions of Yamhad and Aleppo, showing the Hittite interest in gaining the Syrian lands during the New Kingdom.

Nevertheless, there were probably *theological* reasons behind the adoption of those gods because they could be easily equated with the Central-Anatolian gods.

Finally, I think there could be also an *exotic* reason, that is, that some gods from Kizzuwatna represented something exotic, new, and so of a greater value for the Hittite religious

⁶² Above, note 8.

⁶³ Particularly thanks to the role played by the queens; see Campbell 2016: 298, 300; Rutherford 2021: 176; Görke 2022: 148.

⁶⁴ A Hurrian ‘Dynastic pantheon’ in Ḫattuša was first defined and described by Taracha (2009: 92–95). See also Collins 2007: 177; Campbell 2016: 296; Hutter 2021: 123, 192; Trameri 2020: 403–404.

⁶⁵ Popko 1995: 117: “The fusion of some gods into one was supposed to help different ethnic components of the Hittite society to assimilate”. See also Hutter 2021: 250, and Trameri 2020: 402–403.

system as they came from a place closer to the Mesopotamian world. It cannot be excluded that this was to some degree also a determining factor in the Hittite attitude towards the adoption of foreign gods.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Once the terms and the limits of the adopted Kizzuwatnean deities have been clarified, we can handle these elements with the gods presented above. For a better understanding, the goddesses DINGIR.GE₆ can be used for a fruitful comparison. The Deity of the Night was the greatest deity imported from Kizzuwatna, for whom Jared Miller (2004) coined the term ‘adlocation’ with reference to the progressive adoption of her Hurrian cult into the Hittite core.⁶⁶ In particular, this adlocation occurred in distinct steps, both geographically and theologically speaking.⁶⁷ Initially brought to Šamuḫa, she was then in part equated with forms of Šawuška, Ištar of Šamuḫa, and Išhara according to different interpretations of her lunar features.⁶⁸ According to this model and in relation to the ways and the reasons for the adoption of a Kizzuwatnean god into Ḫattuša, we can infer the following points.

Tiyabenti and Tenu were part of the Kizzuwatnean *kaluti* lists (respectively as ^{LU}SUKKAL of Ḫebat and Teššub), and in this capacity they entered Ḫattuša. Concerning the theonyms, this is a simple case of borrowing, whereas theologically speaking it is a case of adoption. The purpose of adopting them is not well-defined but is linked with the integration of the *kaluti* circles into the Hittite state cult.

Tašimeti was a Hattian spring-goddess and concubine of the Storm-god of Nerik, whose presence in a Kizzuwatnean ritual sounds peculiar unless we take into consideration the possibilities of either a later Hittite insertion or identification as a form of Ištar. According to the latter solution, we would have a borrowing for a partial syncretism⁶⁹ between the two cultures.

Matina and Ḫazzizi, the divinized intelligence and wisdom, Ea’s hypostases in Mesopotamia, appear in the Piliya’s ritual as a possible Kizzuwatnean local ‘interpretation’, or even a ‘misadoption’ of Mesopotamian elements into Kizzuwatna. In any case, this seems to be a good example of an exotic reason for adoption through the creation of new – i.e., Teššub’s – hypostases.

Similarly, Pirinkir was not a proper Kizzuwatnean, but a West Hurrian deity with Elamite origins, who entered Ḫattuša via Kizzuwatna and throughout the spread of her Hurrian cult as a type of Ištar. Pirinkir probably followed the same route as DINGIR.GE₆, with an adoption (borrowing) for an unknown theological reason.

Finally, Ḫilaššiti was a Luwian god, perhaps the Kizzuwatnean form of Ḫilašši, who took part in rituals of Hurrian nature. This adoption seems to be somehow similar to what

⁶⁶ Popko 1995: 114; Miller 2004: 259–260; Collins 2007: 158; Yakubovich 2010: 276; Gilan 2019: 180.

⁶⁷ Miller 2004: 259–261, 350–356.

⁶⁸ Miller 2004: 370–376.

⁶⁹ Haas 1994: 447; Popko 1995: 73; Klinger 1996: 173; Taracha 2009: 56.

happened to the deity of vegetation Maliya: she was a relatively well-known Luwian deity of South Anatolia who became more and more important in Ḫattuša after the renovation of the dynastic cult, and thus was also included in the *ḫisuwa* festival.⁷⁰ From the Hittite perspective, all the deities recorded in that festival or ritual appear to be important as both Hurrian and exotic, and so the Hittites embraced those ‘foreign’ gods, ignoring the fact that they were neither Hurrian nor particularly exotic. We can therefore infer that the presence in Ḫattuša of deities like Ḫilaššiti represents a case of convergence between Anatolian cultures in the Kizzuwatnean context. Perhaps, but this is only speculation, we might recognize Ḫilaššiti as a god of the Kizzuwatnean *substratum* merged into the Luwian-Hurrian melting pot of the cults developed in Kizzuwatna.

In conclusion, to use Yakubovich’s words (2010: 276), it is very likely that “Kizzuwatna functioned as a transit point for the transmission of Hurrian written texts from Mittani and Syria to Hatti”. This transmission also concerned the deities and their related cults in several forms, according to different strategies and purposes for adopting them into the Hittite state cult, as the cases analysed here show. The adoption of Kizzuwatnean gods primarily refers to those deities taking part in the *kaluti* lists of the Hurrian Teššub and Ḫebat: their presence in the Hittite sources from Kizzuwatna is overwhelming, because of their political function for the creation of a dynastic pantheon in Ḫattuša, as well as of a religious union between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna kingdoms. In this context, the main and the most representative gods are Hurrian in character and they were directly adopted or syncretized with their Hittite counterparts. However, in the case of minor deities, it is possible to note how the desire of the royal family to take possession of the Hurrian heritage produced a ‘god-grabber’ wish to import everything felt and perceived as Kizzuwatnean, including gods whose origins were closer to Ḫattuša than previously thought.

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⁷⁰ Warbinek–Giusfredi 2024: § 5 with references.

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THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF THE ANNEXATION OF KIZZUWATNA IN THE INVOLVEMENT OF HITTITE QUEENS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HITTITE KINGDOM

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Abstract

There are only a few references to the queens of the Old Hittite period. The Telipinu decree mentions them as wives of usurpers who, through kinship with the deposed king, gave the new king part of his legitimacy. In contrast, Asmunikkal, the wife of Arnuwanda I, the second king of the early Empire, has imprints of her own seals and a decree that she issued alone. She is also mentioned as a co-author alongside the king in a number of important texts. In my article, I examine whether the queen's greater involvement in administrative tasks from this time onwards is in connection with the conquest of Kizzuwatna shortly before.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This paper is part of my work on the Hittite Queens and in particular Queen Ašmunikkal. She is the first Hittite queen so far from whom a decree has come to us, as well as some other texts created together with her husband Arnuwanda and further some that also included the crown prince Tudḫaliya (II/III). As Andrea Trameri emphasised in his doctoral thesis (Trameri 2020: *passim*), the reign of Tudḫaliya I/II and his Queen Nikkalmadi was a turning point in the history and culture of the Hittites. It is a fact that with the incorporation of Kizzuwatna under Tudḫaliya I/II and his successor Arnuwanda I a new era began in Hatti: from this time on Hittite kings bore a Hurrian name beside their Anatolian dynastic name, and Hurrian cults found their way into the Hittite heartland.

In my paper I will not focus on the political history or the importation of Kizzuwatnaean cults and Hurrian names and language into the Hittite empire, but I will discuss the role of the Hittite queens before and after the reign of this royal couple. It is argued that after Tudḫaliya's marriage to Nikkalmadi, who was probably a Kizzuwatnaean princess,² Hurrian influence flooded into the Early Empire Period, prominently visible in the Hurrian names that Hittite kings adopted alongside their Anatolian names, the use of Hurrian

¹ I want to thank A. Trameri and the two peer-reviewers for their valuable hints, comments and suggestions.

² For a discussion of Nikkalmadi's origin and social status before her marriage to Tudḫaliya see Trameri 2020: 389–391 with further literature.

in literature and rituals, and the introduction of Hurrian deities and cults into the Hittite Empire.

In order to work out the possible impact of Kizzuwatnaean or Hurrian influence – via Kizzuwatna – on Hittite queenship, I will begin with the role of Hittite queens in the Old Kingdom. Then I will discuss what seems to have changed in the Early Empire Period – that is, the period from Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmadi to Šuppiluliuma I; in order to try to prove or disprove the hypothesis of the Kizzuwatnaean origin of the status or role of the Hittite queens after the Old Kingdom, one must also look at the role of queens later in the Hittite Empire Period.

2. QUEENS IN THE OLD KINGDOM

The main sources for our subject are the same as for all other aspects of Hittite history and culture of the Old Kingdom: For the names of queens and kings (and other members of the royal family) we can consult the so-called king lists (CTH 660 and CTH 661), which contain offering lists for statues of Hittite kings during the *nuntarriyašḫa* festival and offerings for deceased members of the royal family belonging to the 12th to 13th and the 14th to 15th days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival respectively.³ It is worth mentioning that in the text KUB 11.7 (CTH 661.9) kings and queens are distinguished from other members of the royal family by the amount of the offerings: kings and queens each received one ox and one sheep, other members of the royal family only one sheep each (Gilan 2014: 87). However, as this is a New Hittite text, it does not give evidence about the status of queens during their lifetime in the Old Kingdom.

For the reconstruction of the political history of the Old Kingdom the historical preamble of the Telipinu Proclamation (CTH 19) is our main source for the activities of the Hittite kings until Telipinu. Here (§ 9) we read about Ḫarapšili, who was the sister of Muršili I and the wife of Ḫantili. Ḫantili ascended the throne after murdering his predecessor Muršili, together with Zidanta.

(§ 8) “He (Mursili) was king in Hattusa ... (§ 9) ... And Hantil[i] was cupbearer and he had Mursili’s sister Har[apsi]li for his wife.” (van den Hout 1997: 195)

Although it is not mentioned whether Ḫarapšili was involved in any way in her husband’s murder of the king, it is interesting that she is named in connection with it. Perhaps the reference was made to show the dynastic connection between Muršili I and his successor Ḫantili.

Another woman who later became a Hittite queen mentioned in the Telipinu Proclamation is Ištapiya, the sister of King Ḫuzziya and the wife of King Telipinu, the author of the Proclamation. Telipinu reports that Ḫuzziya tried to kill him and his wife Ištapiya, so Telipinu seized the throne and banished Ḫuzziya and his brothers.

(§ 22) “He (Zuzu, the Chief of the Royal bodyguard) sent Taruhsu, a courier, as well and he killed Hantili together with [his] sons. Now, Huzziya became King and Telipinu had Ištapiya,

³ For these texts as historical sources see especially Gilan 2014.

his (Huzziya's) sister of first rank, <as his wife>. When Huzziya wanted to kill them (Istapariya and Telipinu), the matter came to light and Telipinu chased them away." (van den Hout 1997: 196)

Again, the purpose of mentioning Ištāpāriya seems to be to link Telipinu to the king who reigned before him. In both cases the new king is married to the sister of the dethroned king.⁴

A text that predates the Telipinu Proclamation is the Political Testament of Ḫattušili I (CTH 6), in which King Ḫattušili I removed his sister's son Labarna from the office of the succession to the throne, because he did not listen to the king, but rather to his mother and siblings.

Another example of a disobedient family member mentioned in this text is Ḫattušili's daughter. After Ḫattušili's son Huzziya, who had been appointed ruler in Tappašanda by Ḫattušili, had rebelled against his father and was apparently killed by the inhabitants of Ḫattuša, the people of Ḫattuša convinced Ḫattušili's daughter, who had a son, to rebel against her father Ḫattušili, who had no (more?) sons. But later in the text Ḫattušili accused his daughter of instigating rebellion and banished her. Had she succeeded, she would probably have become queen or at least the mother of the new king.⁵ Although Ḫattušili's daughter was not queen, her mention here is interesting because it shows that women who were close relatives of the king had some power.⁶

In the last part of the text, in a context that is not entirely clear,⁷ Ḫattušili addresses a woman called Ḫaštayar⁸ – and gives advice for his funeral:

"Furthermore, do not forsake me! [No!] Always consult me [alone]. I will reveal my words to you. Wash me as is fitting, hold me to your breast, and at your breast protect me from the earth!" (Beckman 2000: 81)

⁴ These two women are, as far as I know, the only ones mentioned in this text – *pace* Moore 2018: 87 who speaks of "numerous mentions of royal women, as it was through their marriages to royal women that rebellious courtiers were able to lay claim to the throne." Apart from these two, only the Queen of Sukziya is mentioned, who is said to have been killed (van den Hout 1997: 195), but nothing more is said about her. For a possible historical classification of this episode, see Soysal 1990.

⁵ For the text see Beckman 2000: 80f. §§ 13–18, for the historical background Gilan 2020.

⁶ Another woman mentioned in this text is Ḫattušili's sister, Labarna's mother; she is called a serpent, but we do not learn what happened to her; Labarna was banished from Ḫattuša: "But he did not accept the word of the king. He always took the advice of his mother, the snake. His brothers and sisters continually sent cool words to him, and he consistently listened to their words." (Beckman 2000: 79 § 2). From the fact that she is mentioned so prominently, it would appear that she also had some influence.

⁷ Probably the last part was not intended to be written down on the tablet, but the scribe did not notice that this was a very intimate and private instruction Ḫattušili gave to Ḫaštayar; see for this Melchert 1991.

⁸ Ḫaštayar does not occur in either the royal offering lists (CTH 660 and 661) or the cruciform seal; Kadduši is always listed as Ḫattušili's Queen (fragmentary on the cruciform seal). For Ḫaštayar see most recently Dalkılıç 2020 with older literature. A woman named Ḫištayar is mentioned in the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8 and 9), for the text see Dardano 1997: 44, line 2. Apparently, it is accepted by scholars that she is the same woman as Ḫaštayar in CTH 6, see e.g. Yiğit 2007: 798. – Ḫaštayar is included here because – due to her prominent role in this text – she is considered to have been a Hittite queen too, either the wife of Ḫattušili I or his daughter; see the discussion in Dalkılıç 2020 with further literature. Dalkılıç comes to the conclusion, that Ḫaštayar was Ḫattušili's second wife, whereas Kadduši, who is mentioned in the offering-lists beside Ḫattušili, was his first wife.

In this part of the text, we do not find any appraisal of Ḫaštayar, it is just an instruction, but it seems clear that Ḫattušili trusted this woman completely and placed his body in her hands, so we can conclude that Ḫaštayar never disregarded Ḫattušili's will. This shows that Ḫattušili was not only surrounded by women that he considered to be hostile to him.

Another edict of Ḫattušili I (CTH 5) mentions the *damnatio memoriae* of a certain *Tawananna*, making the spelling of her name punishable by death. It is not entirely clear who this woman was, but she most likely was the wife of Labarna I:

“In future let no one speak the Tawananna's name ... Let no one speak the names of her sons or her daughters. If any of the sons of Hatti speaks them they shall cut his throat and hang him in his gate. If among my subjects anyone speaks their names he shall no longer be my subject. They shall cut his throat and hang him in his gate.” (KBo 3.27 obv. 6'–12', Bryce 2005: 93)

Incidentally, it is worth noting Daliah Bawanypeck's observation that in Hittite texts queens and other women of high rank who have not left us texts of their own are mentioned in Hittite texts almost exclusively as examples of misbehaviour and as the source of rebellion. Besides the two women mentioned above (the *Tawananna* and the daughter of Ḫattušili), Ziplantawiya (the sister of Tudḫaliya I/II) and the later queens Tawananna (last wife of Šuppiluliuma I), and Tanuḫepa (wife of Muršili II) are mentioned by Bawanypeck.⁹

To sum up: We have no texts written or authored by a Hittite queen of the Old Kingdom period. All references are found in texts written by kings and they seem to have two aims: firstly, the references to queens are linked to their royal kinship, as it is the case in the Telipinu Proclamation, where the only information given for Ḫarapšili and Ištapiya is the fact that they were sisters of the previous king. Secondly, in the texts of Ḫattušili I (CTH 5 with *Tawananna*; CTH 6 with Ḫattušili's daughter) reports about women are mentioned as cautionary tales about disobedience and the abuse of power. Nevertheless, these stories tell us that the power of royal women should not be underestimated, even in the Old Kingdom, although it seems that the only sphere of their influence was the blood relationship to a reigning king.¹⁰

3. QUEENS OF THE EARLY EMPIRE PERIOD

As noted above, the reign of Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmadi is seen as a turning point in Hittite political history, as well as in the religious and cultural spheres. Andrea Trameri has even tentatively suggested “that the political importance of the E[arly] N[ew] K[ingdom]

⁹ Bawanypeck 2022: 58–68. For the queens of the Empire Period see below. – Beyond the question about Hittite queens it is worth reflecting on the fact that in the anecdotes of the so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) no women are mentioned who are accused of being careless in their work.

¹⁰ An exception is the above-mentioned Ḫaštayar. Ḫattušili's words to Ḫaštayar do not fit into either of these schemes, we do not even know what the exact relationship was between the dying king and this woman. Because of the uniqueness of this text in Hittite literature I prefer Melchert's (1991: 183) explanation that this paragraph was written down by mistake, because the scribe who wrote down the announced testament did not stop writing, and thus the very private and intimate scene was recorded and even translated into Akkadian.

queens did not really derive from a new perception and conceptualization of the queen's authority *per se*, but from the status of the two earliest queens respectively as a member of the royal house of Kizzuwatna (Nikkal-madi), and as the person who in fact transmitted the throne in the following generation (Ašmo-Nikkal)" (Trameri 2020: 392). So let us have a look at these two queens.

One of the innovations of this period is the development of digraphic seals, and – interestingly for this paper – the naming of the queen together with the king's name on them. We do not have a sealing with Nikkalmadi's name from Ḫattuša, but there is one from Kayalıpınar found in 2009 which names King Tudḫaliya and his wife Nikkalmadi.¹¹ She is also mentioned on sealings belonging to her daughter Ašmunikkal with her husband Arnuwanda I. Nikkalmadi receives offerings together with her husband according to the king lists (Gilan 2014: 86, 92), and she is named together with him on the cruciform seal (Dinçol et al. 1993: 93 and *passim*). There is also a Middle Hittite ritual for Tudḫaliya and Nikkalmadi against the sorcery of Ziplantawiya, Tudḫaliya's sister (CTH 443).

The next queen was Ašmunikkal, wife of Tudḫaliya's successor Arnuwanda I, who was most likely an *antiyant* son-in-law and adopted by Tudḫaliya (Beal 1983: 115–119). Not only do we have sealings where she is named together with her husband, but there are even sealings which carry only her name: SBo I no. 77 A-C.¹² The imprints have only a cuneiform inscription which reads as follows:

^f*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS *Ni-kal-ma-ti*
 "Ašmunikal, Great Queen, Daughter of Nikkalmadi".

Because the cuneiform inscription does not begin with the signs ^{NA4}KIŠIB 'seal of', David Hawkins believes that there was an outer ring which broke off and which would have contained the name and titles of her husband Tudḫaliya as well as the ^{NA4}KIŠIB-sign.¹³ To me it seems rather strange that an outer ring could have broken off in such a perfect shape.¹⁴ There are no archaeological arguments in the discussion, so perhaps a re-examination of the original sealing could answer the question. Based on the imprint of this seal (or a slightly different one, as Trameri 2020: 399 suggests)¹⁵ from Nišantepe it is not impossible that there was no outer ring at all and that it is an imprint of a seal belonging to Ašmunikkal alone.

¹¹ This sealing (Kp 09/12) was first published by Müller-Karpe et al. 2009: 187–189.

¹² Güterbock 1940: 44, 69 no. 77 A-C; Beran 1967: 33, 152a-c, pl. 11 and V; a very fragmentary imprint was found in the Nišantepe archive: Herbordt et al. 2011: 109: no. 3 (Bo 90/239).

¹³ Hawkins apud Herbordt et al. 2011: 85 referring to Otten.

¹⁴ Compare the sealing of Išpudaḫšu which also does not start with ^{NA4}KIŠIB (for a drawing and literature see e.g. Trameri 2020: 488 fig. 33 a-b).

¹⁵ Trameri 2020: 399 suggests that this imprint is derived from another seal: "... based on the published drawings, the one published in Beran 1967, tav. V, n. 152 has the sign TI at 12 o'clock taking as reference the central SIG₅, whereas the drawing publ[ished] in Herbordt et al. 2011 (n. 3; Bo 90/239) is clearly different; in the latter, MA (of *-ma-ti*) is ca. at 12 o'clock. For this reason, I concluded these must be impressions from two somewhat different seals. However, I cannot be 100% sure since this is only true if the drawings are reliable (pers. comm. 15.01.2024)." This would mean that Ašmunikkal had at least two seals of her own mentioning her name, title, and genealogy, because (with Trameri loc. cit.) it is very unlikely that from the imprints of both seals the outer ring with an alleged name and title of Tudḫaliya should have been broken away.

There is more evidence that Ašmunikkal was a politically and economically active queen, such as the very fragmentary historical account listed under CTH 148. The introduction (KBo 50.4 obv. 1–3) reads:¹⁶

- 1 [UM-MA *ta-ba-ar-n*]a ^mAr-nu-wa-an'-t[a LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG ^fAš-mu-ni-kal]
 - 2 [MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MU]NUS ŠA ^mDu-ut-ḫa-li-ya L[UGAL.GAL UR.SAG]
 - 3 [Ṫ ^mDu-u]t-ḫa-li-ya LUGAL.GAL UR.SA[G]
- 1 “[Thus (speak) the *tabarna*]a, Arnuwand[a, great king, her, (and) Ašmunikkal]
 2 [great queen, daugh]ter of Tudḫaliya, [great] k[ing, hero,]
 3 [and Tu]dḫaliya, great king, her[o].”

Without discussing other proposed reconstructions of this preamble¹⁷ I would like to emphasise that Ašmunikkal is named as co-author (together with Tudḫaliya, probably already the crown prince). The lines after the salutation are also fragmentary and name most likely Ḫattušili I, the man of Kuššara, and Mušili, and the narration reminds the reader of the description of the time of these kings in the Telipinu-decree.¹⁸

The next text I would like to mention is the famous ‘Landschenkungsurkunde’ CTH 222.91 which has the following opening at the upper edge:

- 1 [^{NA4}KIŠIB ŠA *ta-ba-ar-na* ^mAr-nu-wa-an-ta] LUGAL.GAL ' Ṫ ŠA ^fAš-mu-ni-kal [MUNUS. LUGAL.GAL] (Rüster–Wilhelm 2012: 231)
- “Seal of the *tabarna* Arnuwanda, Great King, and Ašmunikkal, Great Queen.”

Further on in the text, just before the curse formula and the list of witnesses – her son Tudḫaliya is named with the titles DUMU.LUGAL ‘prince’ and *tubukanti* ‘crown prince’ (rev. 49f.; Rüster–Wilhelm 2012: 238).

Also in CTH 260, the Loyalty Oath of Town Commanders, the addressees of the loyalty of the town commanders are Arnuwanda, Ašmunikkal and Tudḫaliya (and his sons and grandsons):

- ... [A-NA SAG.DU] ^mAr-nu-wa-an-da LUGAL.GAL [Ṫ] A-NA SAG.DU [^fAš-mu-ni-kal]
 MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL Ṫ A-NA SAG.D[U ^mD]u-ut-ḫa-li-y[a DUMU LUGAL *tu-uh-kán-ti*]
 “... [to the person of] Arnuwanda, the Great King, [and] to the person of [Ašmunikkal], the Great Queen, and to the perso[n of T]udḫaliy[a, Son of the King, Crown Prince]” (KUB 26.24+ i 17'–19'; Miller 2013: 198f.).

Even more interesting in this context is the prayer¹⁹ of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikkal (CTH 375) to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, which is fragmentary at the beginning; but in

¹⁶ Transliteration and translation: Miller 2020: 191 (slightly adapted).

¹⁷ This reconstruction assumes a co-regency of Arnuwanda and his son Tudḫaliya. An alternative reconstruction has been made by Taracha (2014: 959–961), whose textual supplementation of line 3 (ŠA “of” instead of Ṫ “and”) together with inserting DUMU.DUMU.MUNUS (or: ŠA.BAL.BAL) to the supplementation of the end of line 2 leads to a further king Tudḫaliya (I, son of Kantuzzili, father of Tudḫaliya II, spouse of Nikkalmadi). This does not concern this paper.

¹⁸ For the transliteration and translation of the whole fragment see Soysal 2005: 140–142, and for a transliteration with fewer restorations Groddek 2008: 4.

¹⁹ That this text is a prayer that fits perfectly into the scheme of other royal prayers, has been demonstrated – *pace* Klinger 2005: 353–355, and Gilan 2007: 308 – by Daues/Rieken 2018, who include this text corpus in their book on Hittite prayers.

the course of the text, after a description of the negative consequences for the gods as result of the conquest and plundering by the Kaskaean, the royal couple reminds the gods of the offerings they used to make. Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal are named: (Daus–Rieken 2018: 328, CTH 375.1 Kolon 20).²⁰

... *ūk* ^mArnuwanta LUGAL.GAL ^fAšmun[ikal ...]
 “I, great king Arnuwanda, (and) Ašmun[ikkal ...]”

The significance of this text is not only that both – king and queen – perform the prayer together. The texts also make clear that they both were obliged to perform the sacrificial rituals together or at least to provide the offerings to the gods together (Siegelová 2015: 242, 247).

The most interesting text, however, is CTH 252, the Decree Concerning the ‘Royal Funerary Structure’. This is a text composed by Ašmunikkal alone:

UM-MA ^fAŠ.MU-^dNIN.GAL MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL
 “Thus (speaks) Ašmunikkal, Great Queen” (KUB 13.8 obv. 1, Miller 2013: 208f.).

With the exception of CTH 95, issued by queen Puduḫepa, this is so far the only decree, the only official administrative text, issued by a Hittite queen.

Several other texts mention Ašmunikkal, but since these are not texts composed by her, I will only briefly mention the most important ones:

CTH 326 is a fragment of the mythologem of the Disappeared Storm-God of the Person of Ašmunikkal. I do not think that the existence of such a text naming Ašmunikkal is an indication of a ‘Notzeit’ (Haas 1994: 708–710) or that Ašmunikkal is a ‘Unglücks-königin’ (Klengel 1999: 125). Heinrich Otten long ago suggested that the god’s anger was the result of the killing of Tudḫaliya TUR (‘the Younger’), because at that time it was thought that Tudḫaliya I/II was Šuppiululiuma’s father and that Ašmunikkal was involved in the murder of Tudḫaliya TUR because she wanted her son Šuppiluliuma to become king (Otten 1968: 114). This is, of course, outdated.²¹ It seems that during the reign of Arnuwanda most of the territories conquered by Tudḫaliya I/II were lost and this is the supposed reason for the disappearance of the god. But why should it be Ašmunikkal’s misfortune, since it could hardly have been the queen alone who was responsible for the military defeat? Another explanation – recently repeated by Özdemir (2018: 27, see also Haas 1994: 709) – was that the Storm-God was angry because of the marriage between Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, who on the seals both mention Tudḫaliya and Nikkalmadi as their parents. But as mentioned above, we now explain this fact with the adoption of Arnuwanda by Tudḫaliya. Horst Klengel in his “*Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*” suggested the reason was some cultic neglect of Queen Ašmunikkal (Klengel 1999: 121). However, the text fragment is simply part of a mythologem within a ritual and magical treatment. In none of the Disappeared Storm-God myths (cf. Hutter-Braunsar 2011) is the reason for the anger and the disappearance of the deity given.²²

²⁰ The fly in the ointment, of course, is the use of *ūk* “I” instead of *wēs* “we”; the beginning has not remained.

²¹ Šuppiluliuma I was not the son and/or successor of Arnuwanda I, see for example de Martino 2022: 229–232 and Klengel 1999: 147–149, both with further literature.

²² Two other personal Storm-Gods – that of Queen Ḫarapšilli (CTH 327) and that of the scribe Pirwa (CTH 328) – are also functioning in myths of a Disappeared Storm-God (see Hutter-Braunsar 2011: 137f.),

Furthermore, Ašmunikkal is mentioned (fragmentarily) on the above-mentioned cruciform seal, in the offering lists and in some other passages in ritual context.

The next queen – probably the first wife of Arnuwanda’s successor Tudḫaliya II/III – is Šada(n)duḫepa.²³ Her name on a sealing from Maṣat Höyük together with her husband is the first name written in syllabic hieroglyphs (Mora 2022: 47). Perhaps she was already Tudḫaliya’s wife before his enthronement (de Martino 2010: 92f.), because another mention of her name is one fragment of the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal (CTH 375) quoted above, in a passage in which Šada(n)duḫepa is named alongside Tudḫaliya *tuhkanti* and other persons of the royal family, suggesting that she was the wife of the *tuhkanti* Tudḫaliya before his ascension to the throne (de Martino 2010: 92f.). She is believed to be the mother of Tudḫaliya TUR.²⁴

A little bit more can be said about Tudḫaliya’s second wife, Taduḫepa. The text KUB 32.19+ (CTH 777.8) is a prayer in the Hurrian language spoken by her, most likely on behalf of her husband Tasmī-Sarri, which was the Hurrian name of her husband Tudḫaliya II/III.

anammi=ta ḫāž=i=mma Tado-ḫeba=ta

“Listen to me, to Taduḫepa!” (Wilhelm 2018 [1991]: 155)

She is very often mentioned together with her husband in Hurrian texts, and her name also appears on the cruciform seal, whereas Šada(n)tuḫepa is not mentioned there, nor in the offering lists. She is most likely the mother of Ḫenti, the wife of Tudḫaliya’s successor Šuppiluliuma I (de Martino 2013: 67).

In summary, we can see that Nikkalmadi is the first Hittite queen who is documented by name on a seal, and that her daughter, Queen Ašmunikkal, composed documents both alone and together with her husband. This is a big difference from the Old Hittite period, where we have information about queens only from the texts of kings.

Of course, this difference could be the result of availability of sources, especially because of the lack of just those documents which Ašmunikkal has issued together with her husband, such as instructions or prayers. Also, seals did not include personal names before this period. Only Landschenkungs-surkunden (land grants) are attested from the time before Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal. But because of the fact that even the names of the queens of the Old Kingdom are known almost solely from the offering lists, I do think that there was a change in the role of the queens in the beginning of the Early Empire period.

but as far as I know there has been no attempts to ascribe these narratives to a misbehavior of the mentioned persons in the secondary literature.

²³ For the attestations see de Martino 2010.

²⁴ Thus de Martino 2013: 67; Taracha 2016: esp. 490 and 494 opposes this reconstruction of the historical situation; he emphasises that we have no evidence for children of Šada(n)duḫepa. According to him Tudḫaliya TUR was still a child when Tudḫaliya III had to elect a successor because of the so-called concentric attack; when Tudḫaliya TUR came of age Tudḫaliya changed his mind, but after his death Suppiluliuma killed Tudḫaliya TUR in order to ascend the throne himself. This reconstruction of events is also possible. See also de Martino 2022: 230f. – Although there is little doubt that Tudḫaliya TUR was Tudḫaliya’s III son, I wonder why he bore the same name as his father. This would be the only case in the history of Hittite kings of a father and son bearing identical names. See also de Martino 2022: 230 fn. 163.

4. QUEENS OF THE EMPIRE PERIOD

If Henti²⁵ was a biological daughter of Tudhaliya II/III (and Taduḫepa), Šuppiluliuma I was also an *antiyant* like Arnuwanda I (de Martino 2022: 231). Her name appears on sealings together with her husband, including twice on the cruciform seal (Bawanypeck 2008: 54 fn. 22).

In CTH 44, a decree for the appointment of Prince Telipinu as priest in Kizzuwatna, Great Queen Henti – and the *tuhkanti* Arnuwanda and the GAL *ME-ŠE-DI* Zida – are named as co-authors besides the Great King Šuppiluliuma (KUB 19.25 i 1f., see also 6f.):²⁶

[UM-MA^D]UTU-ŠI^mŠu-up-pi-lu-li-u[-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ha-at-ti]
[MUNUS^Hi-in-]ti MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL^mAr-nu-an[-da DUMU.LUGAL Ū^mZi-da-a GAL
ME-ŠE-DI]

“[Thus (speaks) the] Sun Šuppiluliu[ma, the great king, the king of the Hatti country,]
[Hin]ti, the great queen, Arnuwan[da, the crown prince, and Zida, the great *mešedi*].”

This means that we have at least one official decree in which Henti is named as co-author. Šuppiluliuma’s last wife, who remained in the office of *tawananna* until Muršili II, was a princess from Babylonia who took the Anatolian name Tawananna. Her name appears on 85% of the combined sealings found in the Nišantepe archive, together with Šuppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda II and Muršili II (Bawanypeck 2008: 51).

She was certainly very important and had great influence at the royal court. Nevertheless, we have no official text which was authored or co-authored by her. What we do have is the prayer CTH 70 (of Muršili II on the Tawananna affair) in which Muršili complains about Tawananna:²⁷ He accuses her of having given all his father’s possessions to the Stone House of the gods (Singer 2002: 75 § 3); she distributed ‘things’ that she had brought from Babylonia to the people of Hattuša – it is not clear what these things were (loc. cit.); she cursed Muršili’s wife Gaššulawiya²⁸ day and night until she died (Singer 2002: 76 § 3). And although Muršili was allowed by oracles to put her to death, he did not kill her but only banished her and removed her from the office of AMA.DINGIR-LIM (Singer 2002: 77f. s.v. CTH 71f.).

So Tawananna seems to have been a powerful and competent queen, as Muršili even says in his prayer:

[É.LUGAL Ū] KUR^{URU}Ha-at-ti A-NA PA-NI A-BI-YA ma-ab-ḫa-an [ta-pa-ar-ta
A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ-YA] QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta

²⁵ For attestations of Henti see de Martino 2013: 70f.

²⁶ For text and translation see Goetze 1940: 12.

²⁷ Formerly seen as two texts (CTH 70 – now CTH 70.1 – and CTH 71 – now CTH 70.2); for CTH 70.1 see Singer 2002: 73–77 (no. 17), for CTH 70.2 id. 77f. Miller (2014: esp. 540–544) regards both texts as copies of one single text, which is followed in the *Konkordanz* of the Hethitologie Portal Mainz (https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrageF.php s.v. CTH 70; 10.05.2024).

²⁸ From her we have only one seal impression (together with Muršili II) in the Nišantepe archive (Herbordt et al. 2011: 124 no. 136, pl. 7; and a prayer to Lelvani (CTH 380, see Rieken et al., hethiter.net/:CTH 380.1, 2, and 3 (INTR 2016–01–18)).

ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma-za ŠEŠ-YA-ya [DINGIR^{LIM}-iš *ki-ša-at*
^f*Ta-wa-an-]na-an-ma am-mu-uk-qa Ú-UL ku-it-ki* [*i-da-la-u-wa-ab-ḫu-un te-ep-nu-nu-]na-an*
ku-it-ki
 É.LUGAL Ú KUR^{URU} *Ḫa-at-ti* [*A-NA PA-NI A-BI-YA Ú A-NA PA-M*]I ŠEŠ-YA
ma-ab-ḫa-an ta-pa-ar-ta a-pi-ya-ya-at [*QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta ...*

“Just like [she administered] the [pala]ce and the land of Hattusa at the time of my father, she administered [them] exactly the same [then, too]. But when my brother, too, [became a god], neither did I [do Tawa]nanna any [wrong] whatsoever, nor did I [demote] her at all. Just like she administered the palace and the land of Hattusa [in the time of my father and in the ti]me of my brother, [she administered] them [just the same] then, too.” (KUB 14.4 i 7’–12’; Miller 2014: 518f., 523f.)

Although Muršili wants us to believe that he was fully justified and authorised by the gods to punish Tawananna, a prayer of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna (CTH 383.1)²⁹ gives us a hint that Muršili’s action against Tawananna was not entirely legal, as Ḫattušili claims in this text that he did not participate because he was still a child. I wonder why we have no texts from her long reign.

The next queen I would like to address is Tanuḫepa (Cammarosano 2010). She is one of the queens for whom we do have an imprint of her own seal from the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt et al. 2011: 61f., 163f. no. 65 and pl. 23). Her name also appears on combined seals with her husband Muwatalli and Urḫi-Teššub/Muršili III. During Muwatalli’s reign she was – like Tawananna – removed from the office as AMA.DINGIR-LIM and banned,³⁰ but under Urḫi-Teššub/Muršili III she returned and was again politically active, as can be seen from the sealings of her together with Muršili III. We do not have any administrative texts from her either (Bawanyeck 2022: 67f.).

The next – and last – queen of the Hittite Empire known by name was Puduḫepa. Many examples of her political and administrative activities have been preserved. So, for example, she issued at least one decree alone (CTH 95), wrote diplomatic letters to other kings, especially Ramses II and his first wife, organised diplomatic marriages and made vows to the gods promising valuable gifts for the health and life of her husband Ḫattušili III. I think that her role in politics and government is well known so I need not discuss her here.³¹

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Of the queens of the Old Kingdom, we know little more than their names from the offering lists for deceased members of the ruling family, and sometimes not even that.

²⁹ Bawanyeck 2022: 66 with reference to Singer 2002: 97–99; for the edition and further literature see Rieken et al., hethiter.net/:CTH 383.1 (INTR 2016–01–18) § 2.

³⁰ This act is mentioned in CTH 383.1, the above mentioned prayer of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna (Rieken et al., hethiter.net/:CTH 383.1 (INTR 2016–01–18) §§ 4’–5’).

³¹ See for Puduḫepa for instance Otten 1975; Moore 2018: *passim*, esp. 87–137; Bryce 2005: *passim*, esp. 250f., 282–284, 286–289, 297–299.

Two of them are mentioned in the Telipinu Proclamation as sisters of the previous king, to whom the successor was married. These are Ḫarapšili, wife of Ḫantili I, and Ištapariya, wife of Telipinu. We also have two texts of Ḫattušili I – the Edict CTH 5, which tells of the *damantio memoriae* of Tawananna, apparently the wife of Labarna I, and CTH 6, the Political Testament of Ḫattušili I, in which he tells of his sister and his daughter who had acted against the king's will. Both were apparently not queens. We do not know the relationship between the woman called Ḫaštayar and Ḫattušili. In the offering lists a woman named Kadduši appears next to Ḫattušili, so Kadduši is believed to have been his wife.

The queens of the Early Empire Period have left us more information. Nikkalmadi is the first Hittite queen to be named on a seal. Ašmunikkal stands out because of the documents in which she is named as co-author, and in particular the Decree Concerning the 'Royal Funerary Structure' (CTH 252) which is attributed to her alone. She also had her own seals. But it seems that after her the queens did not have as much influence.

During the Empire period, of course, our sources increase. However, we can see that not all queens were equally involved in government. Ḫenti co-authored at least one decree. Tawananna seemed to be powerful, but contrary to the bulk of sealings, we have no written documents authored by her. Tanuḫepa, the wife of Muršili, also had a seal of her own (as did Puduḫepa and Ašmunikkal), but we also have no documents which name her as the author. After Puduḫepa we do not even know the names of the wives of the last three kings of the Hittite Empire.

To return to the question implicit in my title, I would like to emphasise that since we have no written records from Kizzuwatna and we know nothing about the status of queens there, it is difficult to argue for a Kizzuwatnaean influence in this sphere. However, since it is possible that the use of digraphic seals, which first appear in Hatti with Tudḫaliya I/II (and Nikkalmadi), was influenced by Kizzuwatna, where we have a model in the famous sealing of Išpudaḫšu, it is also possible that the status of the queen changed through Kizzuwatnaean influence. However, this cannot be proven and I will conclude with the following considerations:

The first is that we do not see a linear development: after Ašmunikkal who was very active involved in political matters, there were the queens Šada(n)duḫepa (who may have been queen for a very short time) and Taduḫepa, who left many sealings, but no documents.

If we assume that Nikkalmadi was a Kizzuwatnaean princess who came to Ḫattuša through a diplomatic marriage, she did not leave many traces in the written record. This could – of course – be by chance of transmission. The oldest Hittite seal naming king (Tudḫaliya) and queen (Nikkalmadi) together was found in Kayalıpınar (Hittite Šamuḫa), not in Ḫattuša; so maybe many documents from her time are simply lost. But in contrast to the many documents about Ašmunikkal I think that I can conclude that only Ašmunikkal seems to have been almost equal to the king in governance.

There are other explanations for Ašmunikkal's outstanding status: It is said that Ašmunikkal's importance stems from the fact that she is the biological daughter of Tudḫaliya I/II and Nikkalmadi, so that her husband Arnuwanda derives his legitimacy from her. But if this is true, we have to ask why this did not apply to Ḫenti: she was most likely the daughter of Tudḫaliya II/III and Taduḫepa, and therefore the bearer of the legitimation, but her status was far from the level we recognise through the legacy of Ašmunikkal.

The theory that the status of queens changed from the Early Empire Period onwards because of Kizzuwatnaean influence could be supported by Puduḫepa: she was certainly the most active queen politically and administratively.³² But it is not plausible to explain her status as coming directly from Kizzuwatna (as new blood, so to speak) when Kizzuwatna had definitely been dependent for a long time.

My tentative result is that we must not look for a monocausal answer. It seems that Hittite society provided the opportunity for queens to take an active role in politics and government when they were individually able to do so, and perhaps only when it was necessary.³³

And: one of the reasons for a higher degree of administrative involvement of queens was not so much the annexation of *Kizzuwatna*, but the *annexation* of Kizzuwatna, in so far as permanent control over Kizzuwatna as the first territory outside the Halys bend was the first step in the formation of the Hittite empire, which therefore required much more effort in government and an enlargement of administrative activities and documentation. This might also have been a reason for the increased involvement of Hittite queens therein, and the composing and keeping of documents respectively.

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³² It seems to me not possible to ascribe this fact to chance of transmission. We have many sources from and about Tudḫaliya IV. without knowing even the name of his queen.

³³ Further research is necessary to prove or disprove this theory. It can be done only in a diachronic investigation of activities of individual Hittite queens which – as noted in the beginning – is an ongoing project of mine.

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MECHANISMS OF KIZZUWATNAEAN INFLUENCE ON HITTITE ROYAL IDEOLOGY IN THE EMPIRE PERIOD

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Abstract

Introductory remarks outline Hittian, Luwian and (Upper) Mesopotamian roots of the ideology of Old Hittite kingship. The main body of the paper offers a discussion of change in the Empire period regarding 1) Hittite state pantheon that, as the product of political theology, had no ties with earlier ritual practice, and 2) the new Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean dynastic pantheon. Despite this fundamental change in the official pantheons, the modified model of kingship drew upon Old Hittite tradition, though it adopted the important elements of the royal ideology of Kizzuwatna that was founded on the tradition of Yamhad with the capital Aleppo long after its fall. In this connection, Tešsub of Aleppo (of Kummanil Kizzuwatna) replaced the Anatolian Storm-god as the new patron-god of the king, his family and the entire land. However, he traditionally shared the position of the supreme god of the land of Hattuša with the Sun-goddess of Arinna, "Lady of Kingship and Queenship in Hattuša".

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The ideology of kingship has been one of the recurrent subjects of research of many scholars since the early stage of Hittite studies.¹ It was admittedly the determining factor in the social position and the central role of the Great King of the Hittites to the state religion, administration and protection of his land and human welfare. Hittite society's paramount ruler was responsible for supervising all the activities of his fellow men and women. The previous discussion about the traditional ideology of kingship and the social and religious position of the king has recently been summarized by Gary Beckman (2020: 3–4; see also Taracha 2009a: 46–47). Based on the relevant quotations from an Old Hittite rite for constructing a new palace (CTH 414; KUB 29.1 obv. I 10–26) and a blessing to

¹ Among others, Güterbock 1954; 1993; Gurney 1958; Beran 1967: 79–80; Kellerman 1978; Starke 1979; Beckman 1995; 2002; 2012; 2020; Giorgieri–Mora 1996; 2010; Carruba 1986; 1992; 2002; 2005a; 2005b; Lumsden 1990; Otten 1993: 22–27; van den Hout 1991; 1995; Lombardi 1996; Haas 1999; Dinçol 2002; Groddek 2002; Klengel 2002; Singer 2002a: 302–306; Taracha 2004; 2008; 2009a: 41–47; 2009b; 2013; in press; Gilan 2004; 2024; Yakubovich 2005; Herbordt 2006; 2010; Herbordt–Bawanypeck–Hawkins 2011: *passim*; Hutter-Braunsar 2015; Klinger 2017; Steitler 2017: 425–453.

be recited periodically for the king by a priest (CTH 821; IBoT 1.30: 1–8), he concludes that in the Ḫattuša land “the office of kingship was essentially equivalent to that of chief priest of the presiding deities of the pantheon, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god (of Ḫattuša), and indeed priest of all the gods.”

According to the king’s address to the personified Throne in the above-mentioned OH ritual KUB 29.1, “the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god have allotted me, the king, the land and my house, and I, the king, will protect my land and my house” (Kellerman 1980: 11, 25). The monarch goes on to call the Storm-god his father and the Sun-goddess his mother, an orphan king motif first attested in an inscription of Gudea in the third millennium BCE Mesopotamia. The second text emphasizes the special relationship of the king to the Storm-god: “The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and people belong to the Storm-god alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land” (Beckman 1995: 530; see now Gilan 2024). “The king was – to use modern terminology – head of state, commander in chief of the military forces, and the ultimate legal authority in his land” (Beckman 2020: 4, see also Beckman 1995). Additionally, Giulia Torri (2023) has newly analysed the textual evidence (mostly land donation documents)² for the king as chief administrator of the land.³

The Hattian and Luwian roots of the ideology of OH kingship I have discussed in a separate paper (Taracha, in press). As I argued, it derives from the concept of Hattian kingship of North Central Anatolia that at the earliest stage was most likely modelled on a deep rooted tradition harking back to Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. In pre-Hittite times, however, the ideology of the Hattian kingdom changed at least twice, adapting to the Kanesite concept of the *kārum* level II and level Ib, respectively (Taracha, in press). The latter reveals already some influences of Upper Mesopotamian concept of kingship, especially the close affiliation of the Sun-god and the Celestial Storm-god.⁴ This affiliation was essential to the ideology of kingship throughout the existence of the Hittite kingdom. The Hittites, after establishing themselves as the leading political power in Central Anatolia,⁵ easily adopted this modified version of the ideology of Hattian kingship together with Hattian religion and cult. In the Hattian tradition, however, it was the Sun-goddess of Arinna who was perceived to be the Lady of the land of Ḫattuša. As a result, in the

² See Easton 1981 and, first of all, Rüter–Wilhelm 2012.

³ For a general overview of the Hittite economy, see now Klinger 2022, with ref.

⁴ For a thorough discussion of the association of the Sun-god and the Storm-god with one another as the gods of kingship, which stemmed from Upper Mesopotamia and was adopted in Anatolia in the Kaneš/Nesa *kārum* Ib period at the latest, see now Steitler 2017: 425–453, with ref. to previous publications. Besides, it is noteworthy that the Storm-god of Heaven was a patron-god of Piḫana, the king of the Hittite dynasty of Kussara who seized the throne in Kaneš/Nesa around the middle of the 18th century BCE. See also n. 5.

⁵ After Anitta, the king of Nesa who toppled the Hattian king P/Wiusti from his throne at Ḫattuša in the early 1720s BCE and destroyed the city, the first Hittite-speaking king who rose to power in the restored Ḫattuša kingdom in the mid-17th century, was most likely Ḫattušili I, who derives his legitimation from being the nephew of Labarna I’s Queen, Tawananna. He calls himself “the man from Kussara”, apparently representing another branch of the Hittite royal family from this hitherto unidentified center the two kings of Nesa, Piḫana and his son Anitta, also belonged in; see, e.g., Archi 2015: 6.

OH state pantheon and the royal ideology the Sun-goddess and the Celestial Storm-god became the presiding divine pair as the foremost benefactors of the king and of the entire Hittite kingdom. They maintained their position throughout the history of the Hittite state, though some texts, like the passage from IBoT 1.30:1–8 cited above, show the special relationship between the king and the Storm-god alone, in line with the ideology of the Kaneshite kingdom of Piṭhana and Anitta. This duality seems to reflect the early cultural symbiosis. Similarly, the royal title “Sun” is attested in Nagar/Nawar (today’s Tell Brak) already in the late third millennium BCE. Thus, the title “My Sun” of Hittite kings is most likely connected with the early adoption of the Upper Mesopotamian concept of kingship.⁶

I agree with Steitler (2017: 452) that “the Hittite royal ideology is unusual in that it synthesized elements of two distinct religious milieus. That is to say, rather than being identified or assimilated with each other, within the royal ideology the relevant solar deities [the Upper Mesopotamian Sun-god and the Hattian Sun-goddess of Arinna – PT] each maintained his/her distinct function and identity. The concept of kingship was connected with both of them essentially and fundamentally, but in different ways. The developments from the early Empire period on simply augmented these circumstances.” The profile of Mesopotamian Šamaš, which later became established in Ḫattuša,⁷ had bearing on that of Hurrian Šimige. This profile of the Mesopotamian Sun-god “would have supplied secondary overtones to the relationship of the Sun-god with the king, but the primary elements seem to have already been in place before the early Empire period, i.e. prior to the wave of Syro-Mesopotamian and Luwio-Hurrian scholarly and literary traditions introduced into Hittite society” (Steitler 2017: 452) to the largest extent via Kizzuwatna. The presence of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of the Sun-god in the official pantheon led sometimes to the two solar deities being identified with one another in ritual practice. One of the texts mentions offerings for the Sun-goddess of Arinna (with Mezzula) and for the “heavenly Sun of Arinna”, the latter being certainly mistaken for the Sun-god of Heaven, KUB 25.20 + KUB 57.99 v 4’ ff.⁸ In the Hurrian-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual (see below) the Sun-goddess of Arinna appears in the place of the Hurrian Sun-god Šimige together with his consort Ayu-Ikalti, KUB 29.8 ++ i 23–24.⁹

* * *

In accordance with the main topic of the conference, this paper focuses on the mechanisms that governed the transmission of northern Syrian and Luwio-Hurrian ideological and political influences on the dynastic pantheon and on modifications to the ideology of kingship in the Hittite Empire period. In this process, the Kizzuwatna kingdom played

⁶ The title appears first in the Political Testament of Ḫattušili I, KUB 1.16+ (CTH 6, OH/NS) 44, see Steitler 2017: 436, 443, with ref., and in the OH “Palace Chronicles”, KBo 3.34 (CTH 8.A, OH/NS) obv. ii 22, see Dardano 1997: 87 with n. 60; Steitler 2017: 437. Cf. also Fauth 1979; Carruba 2002.

⁷ For a logographic writing ^DUTU^{AS} (Šamaš) referring to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, see Kassian–Yakubovich 2004.

⁸ Yoshida 1996: 108, 312.

⁹ Haas 1984: 87 (no. 9); Yoshida 1996: 151; see also Strauß 2006: 84, and Taracha 2009a: 89.

admittedly a decisive, even if intermediary, role. In search of a convincing explanation of the change, the issue has been intensely debated in previous publications. This paper, however, takes a somewhat different approach.

In the Empire period the Hittite culture adopted a significant number of Hurrian, Luwian, Luwio-Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian elements. This phenomenon is usually connected with the conquest of the Kizzuwatna kingdom by Tudḫaliya II in the late 15th century BCE (see, e.g., Beal 1986).¹⁰ Alterations concerned all aspects of the material and non-material culture, including artifacts, symbols, iconography, language (Luwian and Hurrian cuneiform texts), narrative literature, magic, religion, ideology of kingship, and the Luwian / Kizzuwatnean hieroglyphic script.¹¹ Yet, this is not the occasion for a detailed analysis of all these new elements in the Hittite culture of the Empire period.

Earlier generations of Hittitologists viewed the Luwian, Hurrian and Luwio-Hurrian elements in the Hittite culture as the result of the fact that the royal throne in Ḫattuša was taken over by a new royal family of Kizzuwatnaean origin in the advent of the Empire period.¹² Nowadays, however, the general assumption is that the Old Hittite dynasty continued to run the country till its fall in the early 12th century BCE. But if we agree with this supposition, it is rather difficult to explain the mechanism of the religious, ideological and cultural change.

As for the Hittite elite culture of the Empire period, the *communis opinio* is that the adoption of Luwio-Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian elements overlapped with the Empire's international aspirations and represented a way for the governing elites to reinforce their status. Modifications of the Hittite ideology of kingship would be part of this acculturation process in which Kizzuwatna played an intermediary role. The importance of Hurrian queens in propagating new trends in the culture at the Hittite court is questionable, however. It is highly unlikely that a Hittite king could be persuaded by the queen to replace the Anatolian Storm-god with his Hurrian counterpart, Teššub (of Kumme¹³ of Aleppo of Kummani), and, more generally, to introduce in Ḫattuša cults of deities of foreign origin if he did not want to do it himself.¹⁴ The previous discussions deliver only a partially adequate explanation and do not accurately define the mechanism of the cultural and ideological change, especially concerning the Kizzuwatnaean influence on the ideology

¹⁰ For the existence of Tudḫaliya I, son of Kantuzzili, preceding Tudḫaliya II, spouse of Nikkalmadi, see Carruba 1998; 2005a; 2005c; 2008: 83 ff.; Freu 1996; 2004; 2007b: 33 ff.; Popko 2005; Taracha 2004; 2014. On the other hand, Beal 1986 and Wilhelm 1988 redated the Šunaššura treaty (CTH 41) to Tudḫaliya II, spouse of Nikkalmadi. They argued that this king was also the conqueror of Aleppo, mentioned in a preamble of the Talmi-Šarruma treaty (CTH 75), and there is no need to split him. Thus, there would be no other early Empire monarch with the name Tudḫaliya before Tudḫaliya II, see, e.g., Groddek 2009; de Martino 2010: 191–192, with ref.

¹¹ For a different hypothesis on the origin and composition of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, see now Rieken–Yakubovich 2023.

¹² E.g. Gurney 1954: 26 [= 1990: 20] (“there was a break in the line”). See also below.

¹³ Wilhelm 1994.

¹⁴ See, Freu 2007a: 182: “Il s’est donc produit un véritable phénomène de «hourritisation» des milieux dirigeants hittites avant le milieu du XV^{ème} siècle av.J.-C., que le mariage des souverains de la «deuxième dynastie» avec des princesses aux noms hourrites ne peut suffire à expliquer.”

of Hittite kingship and the dynastic pantheon. In my opinion, the modified concept of kingship in the Empire period is rather based on the Hurrianized tradition of Aleppo, harking back to the times of Yamḥad as a model kingdom, adopted through the mediation of heavily Hurrianized Kizzuwatna. At the same time, however, some new elements adopted to the Hittite ideology of kingship stemmed directly from the Kizzuwatnaean model (see below).

After the death of Onofrio Carruba and Jacques Freu (2007a: 175–184; 2007b: 33–45) I am one of the last Hittitologists, if not the last one, to believe that a new royal family seized the throne in the beginning of the Hittite Empire period. I hypothesize that it was a family of Luwian ancestry, probably long settled in Ḫattuša. It might have been Hurrianized only later, after Tudḫaliya II conquered Kizzuwatna, when Hittite kings started to emphasize their relationships with this country (see below). There are good reasons to presume that the royal family of the Empire period did not originate from Kizzuwatna. Its place of origin was most likely Ḫubešna (modern Ereğli) in the Lower land,¹⁵ seeing that the name of the sacred mountain Tudḫaliya, to be located in the vicinity of this city,¹⁶ became a dynastic name. Tudḫaliya and Arnuwanda¹⁷ are the only two names that were given in the royal family of the Empire period to the first-born son as a heir apparent.¹⁸ Thus, originally, there would be no ties of kinship between the new dynasty of the Hittite Empire period, most likely of Luwian origin, and Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean rulers or other members of the Luwio-Hurrian elite of the Kizzuwatna kingdom.

Regardless of whether we accept the dynastic change in Ḫattuša or not, it has no effect on the hypothesis I am about to develop concerning the mechanism of adoption of some alterations to the ideology of Hittite kingship in the Empire period that were modelled on the Kizzuwatna kingdom. According to the argument presented above, the Hittite kings were no kin to the rulers of Kizzuwatna. The relationships between the two countries are therefore more likely to be perceived on the ideological, religious and cultural levels as the result of a wave of Syro-Mesopotamian, Hurrian and Luwio-Hurrian scholarly and literary traditions introduced into Hittite society, rather than on kinship of the ruling elites.

As said, the Hittites were in a position to get closely acquainted with the Kizzuwatnaean system of the royal rule, dynastic cult, and other elements of culture only after the conquest of the Kizzuwatna kingdom by king Tudḫaliya II. He married a princess with the Hurrian name Nikkalmadi. The Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean influence is well attested in the reign of Tudḫaliya II's grandson Tudḫaliya III who is also known under his Hurrian name Tašmišarri. The names of his two spouses, Šataduḫepa and Taduḫepa, are Hurrian as well. From this time we have a vast number of Hurrian religious texts,¹⁹ some of them were

¹⁵ For the Luwian local pantheon and the cult of Ḫubešna, see Taracha 2009a: 117, with ref.

¹⁶ Cf. Taracha 2017: 111 with n. 121 and 122.

¹⁷ Arnuwanda I married Tudḫaliya II's daughter Ašmunikkal. He was elevated to coregent and adopted by his predecessor as the *antiyant*-king. The sacred mountain with the Luwian name Arnuwanda was most likely located in the land of Tumanna, which might suggest the king's place of origin. See Taracha 2017: 111 with n. 123.

¹⁸ Taracha 2004: 638. The only exception would be Muwatalli II if he was the first-born son of Muršili II.

¹⁹ See Salvini 1980; Haas 1984.

composed by members of the royal family, like a Hurrian invocation of Teššub and Hebat by Kantuzzili, Tudḫaliya III's brother.²⁰ Significantly, a multi-tablet version of the Hurrian-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual performed for Tašmišarri and Taduḫepa was composed in the city of Zithara on the basis of tablets brought from Kizzuwatna.²¹ This ritual, taken over from a previous scribal tradition in Kizzuwatna, is just one example among many.²² Besides, scribes employed at Hattuša translated the originally Hurrian compositions of ritualists from northern Syria in the appropriation of the material from the Kizzuwatna archives.²³

Emmanuel Laroche was the first to compare a ceremony described on the tenth tablet of the *itkalzi* ritual with the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean dynastic pantheon depicted as processions of gods and goddesses meeting each other in the center of Chamber A of the Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary.²⁴ During this ritual, *kupti*-objects²⁵ are driven into the ground for successive pairs of deities in the same order as that of the two Yazılıkaya processions approaching each other: Teššub - Hebat / Sun-goddess of Arinna, Šuwaliyat (same as Tašmišu, the twin brother and vizier of Teššub) - Nabarbi, Kumarbi - Šaluš *bitinbi*, Ea (and Šauška) - Damkina, Kušuh - Nikkal, Šimige (Sun-goddess in the text) - Ayu-Ikalti, gods - goddesses.²⁶

As I argued elsewhere, Yazılıkaya was most likely a sanctuary of the cult of the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean dynastic pantheon of the Hittite Empire period that was performed as part of the ideology of kingship based on the Kizzuwatnaean system, rather than within the framework of the Hittite state cult.²⁷ The order of the processions of forty gods following Teššub and of nineteen goddesses, headed by Hebat, corresponds to the arrangement of the *kaluti*-lists in the cult of the Hurrian Storm-god and of his consort Hebat, respectively. The Hurrian term *kaluti* ("circle, round of offerings") refers to lists of deities who received offerings in the cult of the chief pair of the dynastic pantheon. The lists are organized according to the principle of naming the gods (Teššub's circle) and goddesses (Hebat's circle) in the order of their importance.²⁸

The new state pantheon of the Empire period is first attested in the early reign of Šuppiluliuma I in his treaty with Ḫukkana of Ḫayaša,²⁹ but as per Onofrio Carruba (1988), possibly harks back to the times of his precedent, Tudḫaliya III. It differs fundamentally from the dynastic one.³⁰ Its structure is also very different from that of the Old Hittite

²⁰ KUB 27.42, Haas 1984: no. 11.

²¹ CTH 777; Haas 1984; Strauß 2006: 149 ff. For tablets of this ritual found in the royal archives of Tudḫaliya III in Šapinuwa (near the modern village Ortaköy), see de Martino-Süel 2015; 2017.

²² See, e.g., Miller 2004: 254; 2005a: 538; Strauß 2005: 230; Taracha 2009a: 150, with ref.

²³ Cf. Miller 2004: 506 ff.; 2005b.

²⁴ Laroche 1952: 118 ff.

²⁵ Strauß 2006: 79 ff. with ref.; Murat 2008.

²⁶ KUB 29.8 i 11–27, Haas-Wäfler 1974: 218–220; Haas 1984: 86–87 (no. 9). Cf. Taracha 2005: 100–101; Taracha 2009a: 95, with ref.

²⁷ Taracha 2005: 99–101; 2009a: 93–95; see now Hutter 2021: 192. Different opinions have been collected apud Taracha 2009a: 93–94 n. 484.

²⁸ Wegner 1995 and 2002; cf. also Taracha 2009a: 118–128.

²⁹ CTH 42, Beckman 1999: 26–34; Devecchi 2015: 100–109.

³⁰ Taracha 2005: 95–106; Schwemer 2006: 244–245, 257–265; Taracha 2009a: 85–95; now also Hutter 2021: 186–192.

pantheon. Unlike the latter, this new pantheon, as the product of political theology, had no ties with earlier ritual practice. This has been recognized on the evidence of the lists of deities in Hittite treaties³¹ and the royal prayers³² of the Empire period. Developed by court theologians, the lists of divine witnesses to the treaties display an amalgam of Anatolian, Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian religious traditions. They reflect the idea of a territorial state in the conception of the “Thousand Gods of Ḫattuša” arranged categorially and geographically.³³

Despite serious changes in the material and immaterial culture, including artifacts, symbols, iconography, language, narrative literature, magic and religion, with new concepts of the state and the dynastic pantheon that differ fundamentally from each other, the ideology of Hittite kingship in the Empire period drew upon Old Hittite tradition. In other words, it had not undergone revolutionary change. At the outset of the Empire period the War-god (Hattian Wurunkatte) was traditionally perceived as one of the most prominent deities of kingship. In one of the treaties of Arnuwanda I with Kaskaean he appears directly after the pair of the presiding deities of the state pantheon, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god.³⁴ In the course of time, the War-god and the Throne-goddess Ḫalmaššuit, the deities of kingship in the Old Hittite tradition, had decreased in significance in the royal ideology, but they never lost their importance in ritual practice.

The Storm-god stood traditionally at the head of the Hittite state pantheon by the side of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The latter maintained her position till the fall of the Hittite Empire in the first decades of the 12th century BCE. In his treaty with Šattiwaza from Mittani Šuppiluliuma I calls her the “Lady of Kingship and Queenship in Ḫattuša”.³⁵ According to the formula of curse in the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša, the Storm-god of Ḫattuša and the Sun-goddess of Arinna will inflict a penalty on someone who would have violated the agreement.³⁶ Shortly before the fall of the Hittite Empire, the hieroglyphic inscription of Šuppiluliuma II from Chamber 2 of the *Südburg* at Ḫattuša,³⁷ refers to the two traditional deities of kingship as the supporters of the king in his military campaigns. Similar references to the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna are to be found in the annals of other Hittite kings of the Empire period. The well-known Ugarit seal impression of Tudḫaliya IV, with several duplicates found on Nišantepe at Ḫattuša, confirms the special role of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god as the presiding deities of the state pantheon.³⁸ The Storm-god embracing the king is represented in the iconic type of Teššub, as on the other *Umarmung* seals of Hittite kings since Muwatalli II (see below), though his epigraph indicates that he bears here the

³¹ Taracha 2005: 101–104.

³² Cf. Singer 1996.

³³ Singer 1994.

³⁴ CTH 139, von Schuler 1965: 110. Cf. Taracha 2005: 101; Devecchi 2015: 120–122.

³⁵ CTH 51; Beckman 1999: 47. Cf. Taracha 2005: 102; Devecchi 2015: 242–252.

³⁶ Bronze Tablet, Bo 86/299 iii 3–10, Otten 1988: 20–21; cf. Hutter 2021: 190.

³⁷ Hawkins 1995.

³⁸ Schaeffer 1956: 19 ff., figs. 24–26; Lumsden 1990: 46–47 (no. 54); Otten 1993: 35–37, figs. 29–31; Taracha 2008: 746–747, fig. 3.

Luwian name Tarḫunta. Based on the textual evidence, it can be assumed that in the Luwian milieu the Hurrian Storm-god was commonly called Tarḫunt(a), and the Hittites called him traditionally Tarḫuna/i.³⁹ His female counterpart on the left side of the central royal aedicula is the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

Hittite kings referred in a special way to one of the Teššub hypostases as Teššub of Ḫalab of Kummani, which clearly shows the relationship between Hittite kingship and the tradition of the Kizzuwatna kingdom. The cult of Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša, and of Hurrian deities from their circles, was performed in the Hittite capital and other cult centers.⁴⁰ Some scholars believe that thirteen regular festivals for Teššub and Ḫebat of Ḫalab⁴¹ were celebrated in a monthly cycle (with the thirteenth month in a leap year).⁴² The İMAMKULU rock relief depicts the Storm-god in his eagle chariot drawn by bulls,⁴³ the scene recurring in miniature size on the royal seal of Muršili III / Urḫi-Teššub.⁴⁴ On the evidence of the Storm-god epigraph in both representations, David Hawkins (2003) pointed out that the iconic type of the Storm-god mounting his chariot represents specifically the Storm-god of Ḫalab. This indicates that the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean dynastic pantheon and the modified ideology of Hittite kingship in the Empire period refer to the tradition of Yamḫad and its capital Aleppo, while Kizzuwatna just played an intermediary role in propagating the Hurrianized version of this tradition, with the addition of some regional elements, like the cult of Šarruma. Originally a great Mountain-god highly venerated in the Syro-Kizzuwatnaean border, he became the son of Ḫebat in a modified pantheon of Ḫalab.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, the processions of deities from the Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary display this modified pantheon.

Muršili II and his son and successor Muwatalli II conceived the allomorphs of Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša, the patron-god of the dynasty,⁴⁶ to become their personal

³⁹ Taracha (2009a: 93) makes reference to relevant written sources examples.

⁴⁰ Cf. Klengel 1965; Souček–Siegelová 1974; Popko 1998 and 2002. Seeher (2007) published fragments of a cult vase from the early Empire period that depicts the Storm-god of Ḫalab in the iconographic type known from a royal seal of Muršili III (Hawkins 2003; see below). The cult vase was found in the Upper City of Ḫattuša, which might suggest a possible location of Ḫalabean Storm-god's temple in this part of the city. See now van den Hout 2024, who discusses all known representations of the Storm-god mounting his chariot, including a sketch on a Hittite cuneiform tablet.

⁴¹ KBo 22.246 iii 21' ff. (with duplicate KUB 42.103 iv), Souček–Siegelová 1974: 48–49; Schwemer 2001: 497.

⁴² Haas 1994: 556 n. 113.

⁴³ Wäfler 1975; Kohlmeyer 1983: 80–86, 141–142, pl. 29–30; Hazenbos 2002.

⁴⁴ Hawkins 2003.

⁴⁵ Laroche 1963; Haas 1994: 390 ff.; Schwemer 2001: 484 ff.; Trémouille 2006. Šarruma appears also in the modified pantheon of Ḫalab (Haas 1994: 390, 554), but originally he surely did not belong in it (Popko 1995: 98; Popko 1998: 122 n. 19; Schwemer 2001: 485, 500).

⁴⁶ An impression of the seal of Kantuzzili and Tudḫaliya from the Upper City of Ḫattuša (Bo 78/56, Dinçol 2001) yielded the earliest evidence of the title *NARÁM*^{DU} “beloved of the Storm-god” in relation to members of the new Hittite royal family. The seal owners are to be identified with later king Tudḫaliya I and his father Kantuzzili, see Herbordt 2003: 24. The title itself recurs in the preambles of the treaties of Šuppiliuma I, Muršili II and Muwatalli II (Beckman 1999: 36, 42, 59, 87). It may also be associated with the iconography of the royal *Umarmung* seals (see below), whose cuneiform legends, till Ḫattušili III, refer to the king as “beloved of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna”; cf. Taracha 2009b: 261–262.

gods.⁴⁷ These allomorphs were given Luwian epithets, *muwattalli*- “mighty” (Muršili II) and *piḫaššašši* “of lightning” (Muwatalli II). Besides, in the course of time, court theologians equated Teššub and his spouse Ḫebat with the Anatolian Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna as divine patrons of the king and the entire land.⁴⁸ But in ritual practice both pairs of the chief deities are easily distinguished from each other. Hurrian deities are also confused in the texts with their Anatolian counterparts, for instance, the Hurrian Sun-god Šimige and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.⁴⁹

It is noteworthy that the lists of gods in Hittite treaties, from the early reign of Šuppiluliuma I till the end of the Empire period, mention the Celestial Storm-god/Teššub along with his manifestations, Teššub of Ḫalab and Teššub of Kizzuwatna, the latter being identical with Teššub of Kummani, the capital city of Kizzuwatna. In Muršili II’s treaties appears the mighty Storm-god, his personal god, and since Muwatalli II both personal gods, Teššub *muwattalli* and Teššub *piḫaššašši*, are usually mentioned.⁵⁰ This would indicate that each manifestation of Teššub was worshiped separately.

As a consequence, the question arises: how to interpret the Storm-god of Heaven in the iconic type characteristic of Teššub carrying a mace over his shoulder, who embraces the king in a central scene of the royal seals of the so called *Umarmung* type.⁵¹ These Imperial royal seals express sheer political propaganda. First attested since the reign of Muwatalli II, they reflect the same ideology, as do also monumental rock reliefs and Hieroglyphic inscriptions, whose earliest examples date to the times of this king as well.

At first sight, the Celestial Teššub should be understood as the supreme protector of the king, his family, and the entire land. However, two unique *Umarmung* seals, represented by a number of impressions from Nišantepe at Ḫattuša, indicate that it is not so easy to answer how the Hittites themselves understood the Celestial Storm-god in the *Umarmung* scene. The two seals belonged to Urḫi-Teššub as the *tubkanti* and on both, the crown prince’s embracer is Šarruma.⁵²

These seals show that Urḫi-Teššub was duly installed and recognized by his father Muwatalli II as his heir presumptive. They allow also to assume that at the time the Hittites hardly distinguished between the Celestial Storm-god, the supreme god of their land and kingship, and Teššub of Kummani, the supreme god of Kizzuwatna. In fact, Muršili II and his son and successor Muwatalli II declare openly their close ties to Kizzuwatna. Due to the former’s aphasia a cleansing ritual was performed in Kummani by order of the

⁴⁷ Singer 1996: 185 ff., esp. 189; Popko 2001; Taracha 2005: 96–97, and 2009a: 92–93, with ref. Some scholars, however, interpret both allomorphs of Teššub as the Luwian Storm-gods, see, e.g., Hutter 2003: 221, 223; Lebrun 2007: 462; also Singer 2003–2005: 560.

⁴⁸ Cf. Taracha 2009a: 91–92. A prayer of queen Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III, yielded clear evidence of this approach: “O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! In the land of Ḫattuša you gave yourself the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but the land which you made that of the cedar, there you gave yourself the name Ḫebat.” KUB 21.27 i 3 ff., Singer 2002b: 102.

⁴⁹ See above, with n. 8 and 9.

⁵⁰ For the lists of gods in Hittite treaties, see, e.g., Taracha 2005: 101–104.

⁵¹ On this type of composition, see Klengel 2002; Herbordt 2006; Taracha 2008; and on its dynastic meaning, Hawkins 2011.

⁵² Hawkins 2001.

king.⁵³ Muwatalli, in turn, introduced in Ḫattuša the *hišuwu* festival for the deities constituting a local pantheon of this Kizzuwatnaean city. Later on, Tudḫaliya IV defines himself as “a flesh of Kummani” on his official royal seal.⁵⁴ Moreover, a cuneiform legend of his unique *Umarmung* cylinder seal identifies the Storm-god embracing the king with Teššub of Kumm[ani], King of Heaven.⁵⁵

All this might suggest that the Hittite kings in the later phase of the Empire period (maybe after the conquest of Syria by Šuppiluliuma I?) had forgotten the Lower Land ancestry of the royal family and considered Kizzuwatna their homeland. Similarly to many Luwian and Luwio-Hurrian kingdoms throughout the entire region of the upper Euphrates and northern Syria, the ideology of Kizzuwatnaean kingship was modelled on the tradition of Yamḥad with the capital Aleppo long after its fall. The ideology of royal power in the Hittite Empire period was modified according to this model.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With the annexation of the Kizzuwatna kingdom by Tudḫaliya II the character of the Hittite culture changed decisively. Kizzuwatna played a decisive, though to a large extent intermediary, role in this process of cultural transfer. The elements of Syrian culture reached Hittite Anatolia in the Kizzuwatnaean, strongly Hurrianized form. The mechanism of this influence, however, had nothing to do with any massive population movement or an arrival of different cultural and language communities.

Due to new, international trends in Anatolian culture the Hittite power elite could easily adopt a modified model of kingship. Teššub of Aleppo (of Kummani/Kizzuwatna) replaced the Anatolian Storm-god as the new patron-god of the king, his family and the entire land. The Hittite monarchs of the Imperial dynasty adopted Hurrian-Kizzuwatnaean dynastic pantheon and the important elements of the royal ideology of the Kizzuwatna kingdom that was founded on traditions of Yamḥad.

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⁵³ Lebrun 1985.

⁵⁴ Taracha 2008: 750 with n. 29.

⁵⁵ Herbordt 2006. Cf. Taracha 2008: 750.

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